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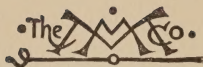
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Yesterday and Tomorrow



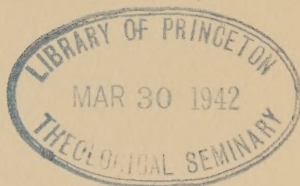
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# ANTI-SEMITISM

## Yesterday and Tomorrow



*by*

RABBI LEE J. LEVINGER, PH.D.

AUTHOR OF "A JEWISH CHAPLAIN IN FRANCE," "A HISTORY OF THE JEWS IN THE UNITED STATES," "THE CAUSES OF ANTI-SEMITISM IN THE UNITED STATES";

CO-AUTHOR OF "THE STORY OF THE JEW."

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TO  
ALBERT EINSTEIN,  
LIVING REFUTATION  
OF  
ANTI-SEMITISM

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## PREFACE

ANTI-SEMITISM is very much in the public eye today. It is conspicuous by association with the sensational developments in Germany, a recent revival in America, and by overlapping with various social and economic movements.

The present is the third great age of anti-Semitism since the dispersion of the Jews in the year 70 of the present era. The first such age was the time of the Crusades, from the First Crusade in 1096 to the Council of the Lateran in 1215; it was an age of massacres, of ritual murder charges, of the Jewish badge. The second was the period of the Renaissance, beginning with the establishment of the Inquisition in Spain in 1478, continuing with the expulsion of the Jews from Spain in 1492 and from Portugal four years later, and culminating in the establishment of ghettos throughout Italy and central Europe. The present epoch begins with the throes of the dying Russian autocracy and the unrest preceding the World War, continues through the turmoil of that gigantic struggle, the nationalistic and racial fervors of the post-war period, and comes to a climax in Germany under the Nazis.

This study of history is vital to the understanding of a historical fact such as anti-Semitism. These three ages possess certain common features. They were all ages of rapid transition, of great intellectual and physical activity, of wars, economic struggles, religious unrest. Definite factors appear,

which are evidently connected with the outbreaks of anti-Semitism.

The study of the past must correlate with a survey of the present situation, and this in turn must rest on our general philosophy. Hence after the historical survey we must turn to the leading theories of Jewish relationship with the external world, and search among them for valid causes for the very existence of anti-Jewish attitudes and movements. Finally the entire problem should be summarized from the standpoint of the present author, that is, according to the science of sociology, as a problem of minority group life under very exceptional and tragic circumstances.

The present work, then, aims to present a general survey of the entire problem of anti-Semitism, such as does not now exist in English, and on a plan not duplicated by any foreign work. Much of it may prove useful to experts in various fields which touch on the subject, especially through the bibliography at the end. The presentation is intended, however, for the general reader, Jewish and non-Jewish alike, who desires to know the facts of anti-Semitism, past and present, and to have some basis for judging them.

While every effort has been made for objectivity, in the sense of the social sciences, by verifying all assertions of fact and by quoting partisan writers in their very words, there can be no pretense of impartiality in dealing with a subject of this kind. The author writes as a Jew, devoted to his people, who yet feels that the cause of truth and justice is better served by a clear understanding of facts than by the most eloquent and persuasive presentation of one's own position. So far as humanly possible, the effort has been made to shed light and avoid heat.



Acknowledgments are due to Prof. Lloyd Allen Cook of the sociology department, and Prof. Francis N. Maxfield of the psychology department of Ohio State University, for reading and commenting on parts of the manuscript.

LEE J. LEVINGER.

Columbus, Ohio,  
May, 1935.



## FOREWORD

THE HISTORY of anti-Semitism as told calmly and objectively by Dr. Levinger in the first part of this book makes it clear that mankind has a long road to travel before it becomes wholly human. The analysis and explanation in the second part hold the hope for the future. In the final chapter controversy may be aroused because it suggests methods of amelioration; all specific plans of procedure are subjects for argument, especially in a chronic problem like this one for whose solution, not generations, but centuries or millennia may be required.

What the Jews have contributed to the world both through their ancient prophets, and through their modern men of eminence is altogether out of proportion to their numbers. It is an ironic paradox that the stimulus of anti-Semitism explains this disproportion.

Great as these contributions have been, they are outdistanced by something more important, namely, the total experience which anti-Semitism has forced upon them. For this the world must be eternally grateful. The Jews have been a vicarious laboratory that has experimented with every human relation. Their uniqueness comes from the length and the intensity of these experiments. Their solidity, their diffusion, and their small numbers which we can follow for four thousand years make them, as it were, manageable for observation. What we may learn from this observation is

vastly more important, for the ultimate solution of the major problem of living together, than all the greatest contributions of science or art. Religion, social organization, myths, cultures, conflicts, accommodation, survival, and all the other categories that find a place in the vocabulary of social science, have varied and clear illustration in the history of the Jews.

The present wave of anti-Semitism has accelerated the clarification of studies of race and nationalism that already had a powerful momentum. These problems, which are becoming crucial in a world of two billion people, are being made clear and vivid by the issues raised over sixteen million. The vicarious tragedies of the Jews may save a vast multiplication. This does not lessen the injustice and suffering visited on individuals; but from the time of Isaiah the Jews have accepted responsibility for a mission. This vicarious experience, in my opinion, is their greatest mission.

The difference between the present wave of anti-Semitism and those connected with the Crusades and the Spanish Inquisition is that, in the latter, there was the darkness of dead-end religious absolutism, whereas now there is light from the large body of social science which attacks the very foundations of the principles on which anti-Semitism has stood. Even forty years ago the outlook would have been much darker than it is now, for then, though the religious issue would have been weak, the racial one could not have been so easily answered. Racial claims may be for the moment embraced with fanatical frenzy, but eventually the already accepted evidence of science will undermine them. A generation ago the main thesis of this book would have seemed fantastic. It is true there were always individuals who resisted injustice, but they did it on moral, not scientific



grounds. Now that we know that conflict is not fixed by the biological difference between peoples, nor by the ukase of theocracy, we have only the problem of cultural modification. This may not lessen the intensity of delusions, but it will lessen their duration.

No one is justified in being optimistic for the near future with regard to the disappearance of anti-Semitism and of the whole range of problems with which it runs parallel; but we can feel some confidence that we are on the way to a final solution as never before in Jewish history.

Racialism and nationalism are two of the world's present illnesses, and the Jews, being just like other people, will often fall victim to their virus. A defensive racialism is just as empty as aggressive racialism; both stand on myths. So long as anti-Semitism lasts, it will be met by Semitism, but the Jews, more than any other minority group, have a capacity for objectivity that enables them to interpret for the rest of the world the principles involved in their own experiences. This is the stuff out of which sociological laws are made. Resistance to the irrational and faith in final success are the basis of social progress, and no one possesses these as do the Jews.

If Dark Ages, whose shadows are now so ominous, come upon us we know that the Jews will survive as they have survived before. This gives the world assurance that culture itself will survive. It was the Dispersion that gave vitality to Jewish culture. Isolated peoples with all their achievements have often disappeared. The fundamental achievements of the last centuries have also been dispersed until they belong to no single people. Nations and even races might be wiped out, but in some "ghetto" of China or Africa the residue of

man's vision will be preserved. The Jews have shown that violence cannot kill heritages, purposes, and dreams. Already in many places on the earth multitudes are hoping for the very social reorganization proclaimed by the Hebrew prophets whose authority, we now know, rested not on the word of Jehovah but on their universal validity. No longer, then, do the Jews fight single-handed, though they still are the shock troops in the struggle for the fulfilment of a vision shared by people the world over.

Cosmic forces have chosen "Anti-Semitism Yesterday and Tomorrow" as a symbol of the struggle still before us. Progress in this struggle is helped by a book such as this.

HERBERT ADOLPHUS MILLER.

Bryn Mawr College,  
May 30, 1935.

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ANTI-SEMITISM  
Yesterday and Tomorrow



## CHAPTER I

### *The World and the Jew*

IN THE YEAR 59 before the Christian era, Marcus Tullius Cicero, the leading orator and lawyer of his day, was defending a certain Lucius Valerius Flaccus against the charge of embezzling various funds, including some which had been collected by Jews to send to their Temple in Jerusalem. In that famous speech, Cicero remarked: "Next comes the malicious accusation about the gold of the Jews. It is this count in the indictment, Laelius, that has made you pick out this place, and that is responsible for the crowd around us. You know very well how numerous that class is, with what unanimity they act, and what strength they exhibit in the political meetings. But I shall frustrate their purpose. I shall speak in a low tone, just loud enough for the jury to hear. There is no lack of men, as you very well know, to stir these fellows up against me and every patriotic citizen; and I have no intention of making the task of such mischief-makers lighter by any act of mine."

About fourteen centuries later an English poet of equal eminence, Geoffrey Chaucer, wrote a story about the Jews which he called the "Prioress' Tale," and included in his celebrated "Canterbury Tales." This was the legend of the boy saint, Hugh of Lincoln, who was slaughtered by the Jews, but by a miracle sang the chants of the Church after his death.

*"This cursed Jewe him bent, and beeld hym faste,  
And kitte his throte, and in a pit hym caste."*

And the story ends with the legal execution of a large number of Jews on suspicion of the ritual murder:

*"Therefore with wilde hors he dide hem drawe,  
And after that he heng hem by the lawe."*

Four hundred years later still, in Easter week of 1903, a mob of Russian peasants attacked the Jewish quarter of the city of Kishinef, killed forty-seven Jews, laid waste homes, pillaged shops, and fed their fury for three long days. During all that time the police looked on with apparent approval, but at the end of the three days orders were issued to call off the mob, and the pogrom was over.

Still more recently, on September 22, 1928, a little girl wandered off in the woods near the small town of Massena, New York, and a state trooper, whether a student of Chaucer or influenced by other anti-Semitic propaganda, arrested the rabbi of the community just before the Day of Atonement on suspicion that the Jews might perhaps have killed her to use her blood for the forthcoming ceremonies of the fast day. Fortunately, on the next day the child was found; the trooper was reprimanded, and both he and the mayor of the town apologized for their baseless suspicions.

The list of such instances is endless, including both accusations against the Jews and actual attacks upon them; this book can include only a sampling of the sorry whole. But we must listen to one more witness, Adolf Hitler, chancellor of Germany. In his autobiography, Hitler tells how he left the little Austrian town where he was born and

moved to Vienna as a young man, for the first time coming into contact with a large number of Jews. "From being a feeble world citizen," he states, "I now became a fanatical anti-Semite. This was the most important event in my life."

The Jews are the oldest people in the Occident, the only one now living which can be compared in antiquity to the great civilizations of China and India. For the first fifteen centuries of their existence they were merely one of many little peoples in western Asia, at first a confederacy of nomad tribes, then a nation in the little land of Palestine. During that time they had enemies, exactly as did every other nation. Their special status and the special attitude of other peoples toward them were not yet born.

Though there were earlier hints of prejudice, especially in the second pre-Christian century, the real beginning of what we now call anti-Semitism came in the year 70 of the present era. At that time the Roman legions destroyed the Jewish nation and the capital city of Jerusalem, and since that day the Jews have been the eternal minority among peoples, living in every continent and every land, but everywhere as a handful, surrounded by great masses of other peoples. From that time on, because the Jews lived as a minority group, they had everywhere a unique status, and usually one that was full of legal discrimination, of hatred and national prejudice.

That situation was fixed definitely with the rise of the Christian church. Hatred of the Jews became in the Middle Ages practically an article of faith. The New Testament story and the wealth of legends clustering around it were repeated every Christmas and Easter, leading from time to time to violent attacks on the "enemies of Christ." For this



reason the Renaissance, which brought a new vision to Christian Europe, never reached the Jews, living within their ghetto walls, until the days of the French Revolution.

Modern times have witnessed a decline of this medieval religious hatred. The center of human thought has shifted from the church to the nation. The citizen is no longer a member of a certain confession, but a resident in a certain land. So in the past century we witness the rise of racial prejudice against the Jew as a member of an alien and inferior race, the theory which alone is properly named "anti-Semitism."

But, whatever the reasons, the facts remain the same. The Jews were an alien nation in the Roman Empire, a people of infidels in medieval Europe, a Semitic race in modern Germany. Ever since the disappearance of their own national center, for one reason or another, the Jews have been forced to meet oppression and prejudice. They are not only the eternal minority; they are also the eternally oppressed.

.   .   .   .   .   .

Why is this one people, out of all the peoples in the world, chosen for such a career of suffering? They have always been a small people, comprising perhaps four million at the time their nation was destroyed, and growing to about sixteen million at the present day. They have few, if any, external racial differences, being of the same color as other peoples of the white race, and containing within their own circle many different physical types. The religious difference from Christians and Moslems is obvious, but the Old Testament, the Jewish Bible, is an integral part of the Christian faith, and the early history of the Jew is deeply imbedded

in the foundations of Christianity, as well as of Islam. Why then should children persecute their mother? Why should the pupils turn against their teacher?

The natural feeling is that if a people is hated by so many nations, differing from one another so widely, under so many varying circumstances, there must be something hateful about it. Many historic situations seem to have nothing in common except violence against the Jew. Many political parties in various national environments today agree in only one thing—blame for the Jew. What has the Jew done to encounter such hatred? What is the Jew like that he is a universal object of execration?

Perhaps we can find a clue in the Christian legend of the Wandering Jew, a gruesome story but not more gruesome than the reality. Many a poet and romancer has been struck with the idea of the Jewish cobbler of Jerusalem who taunted Jesus on his way to the Crucifixion and was told: "Tarry thou till I return." Since the legend was first produced in literary form in a little German pamphlet in 1602, it has entered deeply the imagination of the nations. Many a portrait has been drawn of the doomed Ahasuerus, sinner or saint, bearer of the Black Death, seeker for death himself but never finding it, the eternal outcast in a world of normal men. Always, with the story, has gone its parallel to the career of the Jewish people, the sinister wanderer, the outcast, the undying among the nations. Accursed of God, these sinners have suffered and endured but cannot die.

Or perhaps we should seek the clue in that document which is more quoted than any other by the anti-Semitic movements of the past thirty years, the "Protocols of the Elders of Zion," which first saw the light in Russia in the

year 1905, the product of Serge Nilus, a Russian monk. According to this little book, there has been for centuries a far-sighted, relentless conspiracy of the Jews against the Christian nations, in the effort to obtain the rule of the world. I am quoting from an English translation, printed in Boston in 1920: "God has given us, his chosen people, the power to scatter, and what appears to all to be our weakness, has proved to be our strength, and has now brought us to the threshold of universal rule" (page 39). "We must follow a program of violence and hypocrisy, not only for the sake of profit, but also as a duty and for the sake of victory" (page 15). "We have misled, corrupted, fooled and demoralized the youth of the Goys by education along principles and theories known by us to be false but which we ourselves have inspired" (page 32).

Such a demonic conspiracy can hardly be ascribed to human agency. The corruption of education and the press, the control of money, the spreading of false doctrines such as democracy and collectivism, the debasing of morals, the incitement to war—all to destroy the gentile nations and bring the rule of Judea over them all. But in spite of the inherent falsity of the claim, in spite of the fabrication of the very existence of any Elders of Zion, as well as of their secret meeting and these secret minutes, in spite of the fact that the literary sources of this work have been long exposed, still this document remains one of the important sources of anti-Semitic propaganda. The Nazis utilize it in Germany, as well as their imitators in many other lands, and millions of people, ignorant both of world conditions and of the Jewish people, believe implicitly in the existence of this dire conspiracy.

Perhaps we need not go so far afield, however, for causes.

Perhaps it will be enough to recall H. L. Mencken's remark that Jews are probably the most unpleasant people on the face of the earth. Hatred of the Jews may be due primarily to the fact that other people do not like them. In fact, they are accused often of being aggressive, of being timid, of being clannish, of pushing where they are not wanted, of being too clever, of being ostentatious and boastful—of every kind of petty fault and serious vice, from too violent gesticulation to the seduction of Aryan maidens.

True, these faults are neither universal among Jews nor lacking among non-Jews, and can be found among both groups. Many of the faults cited even contradict one another; it is hard to see how the same people can offend by being both clannish and pushing, or both capitalist and communist at once. But this is certainly one phase which we must examine carefully when we search for the causes of the age-old and world-wide hatred of the Jews.

Perhaps, after all, the real source for anti-Semitism is not to be sought in religion, in international conspiracy, nor in Jewish characteristics. Perhaps it is a part of universal human nature, by which one group of human beings fears, suspects and hates that group which is different from itself. That is where the present author looks for causes, in national psychology, and especially in the unique situation of the Jews as a minority group everywhere and at every time. The Jew is simply the outstanding case in the world's history of the oppressed minority. But there are many other examples, the Christian heretics, the gypsies, the American Negro, and many others which are similar, if not exactly parallel.

Of course, hatred of the minority does not always show the same virulence and does not always produce the same

violence. Times of stress, of misery, of oppression, bring the latent hatreds and prejudices to the surface and make them vocal. And when we go over the history of the Jews, we shall notice that the greatest outbreaks occur regularly at such times of tension in society. In our own day, for example, the National Socialist revolution in Germany, with its terrific anti-Semitism, was a product of the economic depression in that unhappy land, the political repression by the Treaty of Versailles, and the need of the German people to find a scapegoat for their miseries.

That is the real source of anti-Semitism and of most prejudices in the world: first, an underlying suspicion of the people who are different from ourselves; second, a moment of such deep unhappiness that we must find an enemy on which to visit our wrongs. In such a case, the enemy has been long designated by religious teaching, by nationalist education, by many forces in the life of the nation. And as the Jew lives everywhere, as he is everywhere a defenseless minority, as he is everywhere at least a little different from his neighbor, so the Jew often becomes the desired enemy and the useful and needed scapegoat.



PART I  
HISTORY OF ANTI-SEMITISM



## CHAPTER II

### *The Biblical Period*

IN STUDYING a one-sided subject like anti-Semitism, we must guard ourselves against coloring all history with that one fact, which has really been a very small element in the life of most peoples. We must even be careful that we do not re-read all Jewish history as a reflection of the hatred of the outside world. This has been a tremendously important matter to the Jews the world over; but not by any means their only concern. They were equally affected by friendly attitudes of rulers or peoples, which occurred quite as often. They were deeply influenced by their own religion, law, and tradition, which were integral parts of their own thinking, and only occasionally were conceived as an answer to attacks from without. There were many periods of comparative peace and quiet for the Jew between stretches of intense persecution. Even in the Middle Ages the Jews enjoyed frequent privileges, though never any rights, and had valuable contacts with the outside world, not only commercial but also intellectual. In tracing, then, this red thread of persecution through Jewish and world history, we must bear in mind that it was by no means the entire fabric.

For the first thousand years or more of their life history, the Jews were simply a small nation in western Asia, like any other. In the desert they fought with the Amalekites on equal

terms. In Palestine they conquered the Canaanites, were subjugated by the Philistines, contended with the Syrians. When the kingdom was divided along geographical lines, there was quite as much hostility between Israel and Judah as between the two and their other neighbors. The world was ruled by the war system then more outspokenly than now; nations would openly set out on wars of conquest. The little people of Israel was at one with the rest of the world in its alliances, its friendships, and its hates.

There are two hints, however, of a different aspect, and both at times when the Hebrew people was not living as an independent nation in its own land. The first was at the very beginning, when the Hebrews were slaves in Egypt, and the words spoken then have been echoed a thousand times since in other lands. In Exodus 1, verses 9 and 10, Pharaoh is quoted as saying to his advisers: "Behold, the people of the children of Israel are too many and too mighty for us; come, let us deal wisely with them, lest they multiply, and it come to pass, that, when there befalleth us any war, they also join themselves unto our enemies, and fight against us, and get them up out of the land."

It happens that we have no Egyptian accounts of these events, but must depend only on Jewish sources. As far as we are able to learn, the Egyptians enslaved this minority group of Asiatic shepherds out of fear of their numbers and their prowess in war. The whole affair may have been a part of the Egyptian rebellion against the Hyksos, the nomad conquerors from Asia. Or it may have been simply the usual reaction of a powerful ancient empire against a tiny people whose protector, Joseph, could no longer plead its cause.

The second incident of a similar nature occurred a thou-

sand years later, in a time of dispersion throughout the Persian empire. The book of Esther is certainly not historical, but the story told in its pages is so representative that we must include it here. In this ancient scroll (3:8) Haman, the all-powerful enemy of the Jews, says to King Ahasuerus: "There is a certain people scattered abroad and dispersed among the peoples in all the provinces of thy kingdom; and their laws are diverse from those of every other people; neither keep they the king's laws." On the strength of these accusations by his favorite, accusations which have a strangely modern tone, the king decrees the slaughter of the Jews, and only the intercession of Esther, a Jewish concubine beloved by the monarch, averts the disaster. The popularity of Purim, the Feast of Esther, as a carnival among Jews even to this day, is a curious proof how such incidents of threatened annihilation and rescue have become imbedded in Jewish life.

Haman's charge is an odd one, indeed, in an ancient empire, which was simply a loose federation of peoples, each under its own law, and bound together only by personal loyalty to the sovereign. It may be a reminiscence of the very different policy of Antiochus, who tried to unite his empire by a common culture, that of Greece. Throughout the ancient and medieval world the Jews were officially allowed to live under their own law in any place where they were permitted to dwell at all. Still the fact that they did so was always a source of irritation, an outstanding difference between them and the people who lived under the law of the land, and could always be used in a time of crisis as an excuse for oppression or attack.

The first persecution on specifically religious grounds occurred at the hands of this very Antiochus IV in the second

pre-Christian century. Some historians consider it the first religious persecution in the history of the world. Still, as we shall see, it had other elements associated with the religious motive. This Antiochus ruled the great empire of Syria, a remnant of the still greater realm of Alexander the Great. In addition to the egomania which led him to demand divine honors and to consider himself a very god, Antiochus also had the statesmanlike ideal of uniting his people by a common civilization. This was precisely the idea of Alexander the Great, and in both cases the civilization was the same, the Hellenistic offshoot of the Greek culture which Alexander himself had first brought into Asia.

It was easy enough to implant this Greek culture into the mongrel races and decaying civilizations of the Near East. It overawed the conquered peoples by its might in war, its magnificent architecture, its theatrical performances and its athletic contests; it won the discriminating as powerfully through its science, its poetry, its philosophy. All cultured people spoke Greek, whatever might be their native tongues. All the many species of nature worshipers were ready to identify their deities with the Greek gods, to erect splendid statues to the Olympic Zeus in the place of their former crude idols of Marduk or Baal. As a matter of fact, for a polytheistic people there was no break either in substituting one name for another in worshipping the same god, or in adding many new gods to those they already served. Hellenistic culture seemed on the way to conquer the world; Antiochus counted on it as a powerful political instrument.

But the Jews proved themselves an exception. Masses of them, to be sure, were attracted by Greek learning and magnificence and eagerly accepted what they could of the new



culture. Some few went further and worshiped the emperor and the gods of Greece. But a stalwart remnant of the nation resisted on strictly religious grounds, and began the first rebellion against the cultural policy of Antiochus because they worshiped one God alone, and worshiped Him without the aid of images or symbols. No doubt the Syrian generals and statesmen were dumbfounded; they could not understand such senseless obstinacy. They attempted to put down the rebels by force, for to them this was only an ordinary political revolt. But they did not count on the fanaticism or the martial ability of the Jews. The priest Mattathias led the struggle; then his son Judas (later called the Maccabee, the hammer-bearer) proved to be a truly great military genius. So the Jews won not only the victory of their faith, for which they fought so desperately, but also political freedom which endured a hundred years until the entrance of the all-conquering Romans into the arena of the Near East.

This cultural movement of the Syrians, with its political motives, created the first religious martyrs of all history. Again, we must rely solely on Jewish sources for our information, in this case the books of the Maccabees in the Apocrypha. According to these records, the Sabbath was suppressed as treason, circumcision was declared a capital offense, and the rolls of the Torah, the sacred five books of Moses, were ordered destroyed. Certainly the one act which outraged the Jews the most was the erection of a statue of Zeus in the Temple of Jerusalem, and the sacrificing of swine's flesh to it on the high altar. A religious test was the standard of conformity, such as offering sacrifices to Zeus or the eating of pork. So this period brings us these first tales of martyrdom, the tale of Eleazar the aged priest, who

sacrificed his life rather than give the appearance of eating forbidden food, of the heroic woman who saw her seven sons slaughtered one by one, while she pleaded with them to be loyal to the faith of their fathers. These first martyrs were to be followed by many others, both Jews and Christians, in a world where religious persecution was to grow and flourish and increase in virulency.

## CHAPTER III

### *Classic Antiquity and the Jews*

ANTI-SEMITISM may be said to have begun with the dispersion of the Jews. Its first faint beginnings may be traced even before the destruction of Jerusalem in the year 70, for by that time over half the Jews in the world lived outside Palestine. They scattered voluntarily as merchants, involuntarily as slaves; some of them were the descendants of ancient settlements in Egypt, Syria, and Babylonia. Of the 4,500,000 Jews in the world when the legions of Titus crashed through the walls of Jerusalem, only a portion faced the other nations as a unity living in their own land; for a greater part had already become minorities in lands that belonged to other peoples.

In the ancient world every people was considered a race, a nationality, and a religion at once. Every city had its own patron god or goddess; Athens paid special reverence to Athene, Rome exalted Mars. The foreigner who had the right of living in the city (and there were many such) would naturally worship his own gods rather than those of his neighbors; but he might properly sacrifice to them also on public occasions as a mark of respect for the city in which he dwelt. That means that there was wide tolerance for people of different religion, language, and customs.

It is true that the Greeks looked down on all other peoples,

calling them "barbarians." In fact, proud of their conquests and of the number of slaves they had taken in war, the proud Hellenes even had a saying that "barbarians were born to be slaves." Yet they allowed other free nationals the right of residence in their cities if they observed very simple formalities.

The general attitude of the Greeks toward the Jews, then, was curious or even friendly, but seldom hostile. The earliest author who mentions them is a certain Theophrastus, a pupil of the great Aristotle, who says of them: "They are philosophers by race." That means, in his use of the word "philosophy," that the entire Jewish people were interested in religious questions, in the nature of God and the existence of evil; while among other nations these problems concerned only the few, and the mass of the people merely performed their prescribed religious duties.

Later a few enemies of the Jews developed among the Greeks. Even then, it seems that these were no more in number and no stronger in their expressions of dislike and suspicion than those who wrote against the Egyptians or the Syrians. Hecateus of Abdera, who lived in Egypt about 300 before the Christian era, gave an Egyptian version of the Exodus of the Jews a thousand years before. He tells us that the Jews had been expelled from Egypt owing to a pestilence which was ascribed to the presence of foreigners; that their leader Moses founded a nation which was ruled by priests, which had no statues of gods, which had laws different from other nations. The expulsion, he says, induced Moses to ordain an inhospitable and inhuman mode of living. About two centuries later Apollonius Molo wrote a pamphlet on the Jews in which he repeated this charge of unsociability.

But while the occasional unfriendly references of Greek writers are trivial enough, we meet real hostility in Egypt. For one thing, there were many Jews in Egypt. According to Philo, there were a million Jews in Egypt in the first Christian century, about one-eighth of the entire population. For another, the Egyptians had been conquered, invaded, and colonized by many foreign peoples, and probably had on the whole quite as much bitterness against the Greeks as against the Jews. An Egyptian priest named Manetho had written the Egyptian story of the Exodus as far back as 270 before the Christian era, in which he claimed that Moses was a leper, hence despised by the gods; that he was a renegade Egyptian priest; that he had led out of Egypt a mob of Syrian barbarians and Egyptian outcasts. Evidently there was much latent antagonism against the Jews in Egypt.

That hatred was probably aroused by their numbers and prominence. They inhabited one of the five sections of Alexandria. They had settlements in many smaller towns. They had synagogues where they worshiped in their own peculiar fashion. Some of them were citizens, especially in Alexandria; even more had privileges of residence and trade. In the year 38 A.D., during the reign of the Emperor Caligula, riots broke out, associated with the old problem of placing statues of the emperor in the synagogues. The Roman governor Flaccus justified the excesses of the mob, calling the Jews "aliens and sojourners," which most of them legally were. As a result two delegations went to Rome to bring the matter before the emperor, the Jewish contingent headed by Philo the philosopher, the Egyptian delegation by Apion, a popular lecturer and commentator on Homer. Apion's book on the Jews has long disappeared; but we still have two refutations

of it, one by Philo, the other by Flavius Josephus, the Jewish historian. As these men bent every energy to refute his charges, it is probable that they repeated the strongest of his accusations accurately.

Apion's charges seem trivial to us today, for the most part. A few of them are the type of accusations to which we are still accustomed among anti-Semites; but many are of entirely different motivation and conclusions. First, he repeats Manetho's story of the Exodus with additions and embellishments of his own. Then he tells us that the Jews are exclusive, unsocial; they keep themselves apart from other nations, will not like loyal subjects worship the Emperor, and swear solemnly to bear no good will to any foreigner. This is the exact opposite of a common modern charge, namely, that the Jews are internationalists.

His third group of accusations, which have been more frequently echoed by later writers than the others, consists of attacks on the Jewish religion itself. Here is the origin of the story that the Jews worshiped an ass; here we find also for the first time the famous blood accusation, which had so many terrible results in later centuries. The former seems trivial and grotesque enough to us, and certainly did to the Romans, who were accustomed to all kinds of odd religious symbols; but the charge appealed to the Egyptians, who considered the ass an emblem of evil; indeed, this was to them a charge of devil-worship.

The latter accusation is based on a fanciful story that the Jews annually captured a Greek, fattened him and sacrificed him to their God, as a symbol of their hatred for all mankind. This was the sort of story which could be more easily denied than disproved, especially to one's enemies; it was a



frequent charge in antiquity against nations that were hated, and was destined to be repeated later against the unpopular group of Jewish converts known as Christians. Apion has thus the distinction, if such it be, of writing the first anti-Semitic book, and fathering a number of the anti-Jewish charges which were to be repeated again and again in later days.

The Roman Empire recognized the Jews, as the Greeks had done, as one of the many nations under its control. The Romans were most tolerant of foreign religions, requiring only that their professors should not interfere with the official rites of the city of Rome, and should not cause public difficulties in administration. In such cases, the government could always rely on the police power which allowed the expulsion of turbulent and dangerous sects from the Roman capital. The Jews usually were tolerated as long as they paid their taxes and attended strictly to their own affairs. In many places, such as Egypt, they enjoyed a large amount of local self-government for their own communities. But they had two factors in their lives which sometimes brought them into direct collision with the law. The first, as we have already seen, was their refusal to honor the city gods or the image of the Emperor. The second was a widespread propaganda by which this foreign sect made many converts among the heathen. These two aspects of Judaism caused considerable difficulty and aroused such little direct anti-Judaism as existed among the Romans. On the whole, the Romans despised the conquered provincials, were they Greeks, Gauls or Jews. Orators like Cicero would heap bitter contempt on any of these in any political speech or legal plea; there is nothing striking or peculiar in his anti-Jewish bias. But anti-Judaism,

whether as a legal system or a popular movement, simply did not exist until the rise of Christianity.

The first official record of Jews in Europe is a statement that they were expelled from the city of Rome in the year 139 before the Christian era on the charge of making proselytes. Now this was not an exceptional occurrence in Roman history. It had happened before to the worshipers of Bacchus, and afterwards to the followers of Isis. In later times it was twice suffered by the Jews in the reigns of the Emperors Tiberius and Claudius. Finally, banishment together with other punishments was the lot of the Christians when in later times their conversions became too widespread and alarming. But none of these police measures was a penalty for being a Jew. They were simply efforts to uphold the Roman worship as a part of the Roman state, to prevent the Romans themselves from being won over to other cults, and to abolish immorality and breaking the peace. Moreover, Roman citizens could not be banished on such charges, but only foreigners, and in the times of the Emperors many of the Jews were Roman citizens. We are thus not dealing with persecution of the Jews, but with police measures which were sometimes applied to them, but which usually fell more heavily upon magicians, mystery religions, and other cults from the East.

In many ways the Romans seem to have had great respect for the Jews as a warlike, civilized and intelligent group in the great mixture of peoples which made up their far-flung Empire. Julius Caesar as consul of Rome dissolved the various eastern cults in that city but spared the Jews, giving them permission to "live according to their own laws." In Palestine the Roman governors were ordinarily very careful not to violate the Jewish scruples against the erection and worship

of images, especially in the city of Jerusalem. There is even one instance when Emperor Gaius desired his statue to be placed in the Temple in that Jewish center, as it was in the temples of other tributary nations; the legate Petronius hesitated to do this, fearing a revolt, and only the timely death of the Emperor prevented his deposition and execution for this refusal. Of course, the Romans understood the existence of holy places and sacred objects among the Jews, for they had such observances themselves. But it is remarkable that they took seriously the Jewish avoidance of images, when they considered sculpture, not merely an ordinary aid to worship, but the usual evidence of any civilized people.

One charge against the Jews, as we have seen, was that they made converts among the Romans. This charge was certainly true, and accounted for much of the opposition the Jews received from the Stoics and the other philosophic schools, their natural competitors. The popular religions of ancient Greece and Rome were steadily losing ground at this period; the educated classes were joining various philosophic groups; the ignorant, the eastern cults, with their fascinatingly mysterious rites and their promises of personal salvation. But the Jews, with their worship of one God and their belief in resurrection, appealed to both classes and masses. Their sacred books had been translated into Greek; many works were being produced at this time for the instruction of proselytes; every synagogue had its little group of converts. Some of these became full adherents of Judaism, accepting circumcision and the complete Jewish law, while others were partial converts, who had merely promised to abstain from idolatry and to worship the God of Israel.

The very existence of these groups of converts, some of

them actually drawn from the highest circles in the Roman court, proves the estimation in which Judaism was generally held under the Emperors. Horace comments in jest about these many proselytes to Judaism; Ovid refers to the synagogues of Rome and the observance of the Sabbath; Juvenal sneers in characteristic fashion at the converts. He remarks: "Some whose lot it is to have a father that reveres the Sabbath, worship nothing but the clouds and sky. . . . Soon they become circumcised. Trained to despise the laws of Rome, they learn, maintain and revere the law of the Jews, which Moses has transmitted in a mystic volume."

For this reason the tyrannical treatment of the Jews in Palestine was by no means anti-Judaism, but merely the usual method of force by which Rome held in vassalage her many colonies. The Romans were quick to suppress a preacher or a prophet in Judea because they had learned of the messianic hope of the Jew, which usually brought on a struggle for freedom, and desired to forestall such revolts. Undoubtedly the execution of Jesus, charged with being King of the Jews, was exactly like the many similar judgments of which Josephus tells, simply a move on the part of Rome to prevent a rebellion. When the final rebellion began, the Romans sent their legions for political and military reasons; the slaughter and enslavements after the Temple fell were the fate meted out to any rebellious province. But even after the destruction of Jerusalem, Jewish propaganda went on and Jewish proselytes were common. The rising Christian Church made its first converts among these Jewish proselytes, already won away from paganism, and from them spread farther throughout the Greek and Roman world.

Now, what charges were brought against the Jews by

their opponents in ancient Rome? They were not accused of being diabolically clever business men, for most of them were artisans, and the Greeks and Syrians far excelled them in trade. They were not accused of being internationalists; they suffered rather the opposite charge. They were not called a separate race, for race meant nothing in the Roman Empire. The charges were peculiar to the time and place.

First of all, the Jews were accused of "impiety," a word which meant that they "did not regard as gods those whom the state so regarded." Peculiar as it may seem to us to read such a charge against this deeply devout people, it was certainly true according to this ancient definition. Along with this came the charge of "atheism," because the Jews denied the existence of the city gods, on whose blessing the city and empire relied for their success in war and prosperity in times of peace. But at the same time they were accused of credulity and superstition because they had their own peculiar beliefs and their own ceremonies, to which they adhered so stoutly. Tacitus says: "All who embrace their faith undergo circumcision, and the first instruction they receive is to despise the gods, to forswear their country, to forget father, mother and children. The Jews consider as profane all that is held sacred by us." The Sabbath, to take one example, was such a strange custom to the Romans that they considered it a superstition. They noted also that the priests held a greater ascendancy among the Jews than among the Romans.

The Greeks were especially offended by the Jewish custom of circumcision, peculiar as this objection may seem to a modern. In the Greek cult of the body, such a rite seemed a mutilation and a sign of barbarism. Because the athletes contended naked, this became a conspicuous and objection-



able mark of Judaism. In fact, in the Maccabean period, some Jews actually underwent a painful operation by which they might conceal their circumcised condition, but the rabbis countered with a new law which made concealment impossible.

Besides these two charges of irreligion (in the Roman sense) and superstition, there was a third accusation of great importance. The Jews were accused of inhospitality, that is, of inhumanity, one of the great crimes according to Greek and Roman ethics. Certainly, these accusers did not know the biblical injunctions to protect the stranger. But they noted that the Jews were prevented by their dietary laws from eating at a Roman table or drinking the wine of pagans; that they avoided the theater, with its sacrifice to Dionysus; that they took no part in public festivals, which were always religious, and in which every other subject people would gladly join. Hence they seemed to be lacking in patriotism; they appeared to hate the human race, to be exclusive in their loyalties, to oppose philosophy and the light of reason.

Rarely did these scattered charges culminate in violence. The chief period of anti-Jewish riots occurred in the Near East at the time of the destruction of Jerusalem. Even then it is doubtful whether these were really riots against the Jews, or scattered little rebellions of certain Jewish communities against their masters, instigated by the revolt of the defenders of the Temple. This latter theory is possible, for the Jews everywhere had been allowed to keep up their affiliation with Palestine, and the voluntary tax they raised for the Temple at Jerusalem had been protected by the Roman rulers. After the destruction of the Temple in 70, the tax was taken over by the Imperial treasury, and called *fiscus Judaicus*, the first



special Jewish tax of which we have any record. But this was not a penalty for being a Jew; it was rather a penalty for rebellion. During the Roman rule, the Jews were generally respected, sometimes favored, rarely suppressed. The beginnings of their special status as a scattered people now appear, but with few added hardships. The seeds of anti-Judaism had been sown; they were to ripen under the cultivation of the Christian Church.

## CHAPTER IV

### *The Religious Motive for Hatred*

IN THE ROMAN WORLD the Jews had been simply one of the many subject nations. In Palestine they had the right of self-government, subject to Roman power and Roman taxation. Outside Palestine they had similar rights; their synagogue, their law, their status as a nation, were generally recognized. They were a *collegium licitum* (a legal body), later to become *religio licita* (a legal religion). The Christians at the beginning had enjoyed no such rights. The very first Christians, being Jews, had had the status of Jews, an alien but recognized nation. The later Christians were usually not Jews by birth, and so were one of the suspected and often suppressed sects of the Roman world. Now we are to see what changes the growth of the new Christian Church brought into the Roman world.

Christianity found itself shortly not merely a growing and victorious offshoot of Judaism, but a direct competitor. The Christian missionaries surpassed the Jewish propagandists very slowly. This is rather surprising, for the Christian faith was a missionary movement from the beginning, first among Jews and their proselytes, then among the gentiles. The Pauline doctrine especially was one of conversion; he had the gospel, the good news, for the world as a whole. He traveled about, preaching to Jew, proselyte, and Greek. In particular

he separated his converts from Judaism, so that they need not take up the "yoke of the law." This rejection of the Jewish law, from the initiatory rite of circumcision to the dietary rules and other matters of daily living, made Christianity far easier to adopt than Judaism. The missionary fervor of the early Church, with its rejection of the Jewish law, made it far superior to Judaism in the field of propaganda. That meant that while the Romans had tolerated the Jews as a nation, the Christians abominated them as a faith; while the Romans had been interested in the Jews because of their very difference, the Christians feared their influence and hated them because of their very similarity.

As soon as orthodox, that is Catholic, Christianity formulated its creed and policy, it established a test of belief. This was intended, first, to keep the faithful within the fold; secondly, to keep out the heretics. This creedal test was applied to heretics of all varieties, which in the early formative centuries were innumerable, and naturally to Jews and pagans as well. Thus it happened that for the first eight centuries of the Christian era persecution of the Jews was almost entirely from the religious point of view, inspired by priests, codified by Church councils, and carried out by Christian monarchs.

In this countermove against Judaism we can see clearly two tendencies: the first an attack on Judaism as a religion with the purpose of converting the Jews; then, when that failed, an attack on the Jewish people with the purpose of condemning them and converting the gentile world. While the first of these attempts was a failure, as very few Jews were actually converted, the second was a complete success, for the Church won over the Empire and the Jews were forced into a subordinate and often a desperate position.

There is no need to cite many examples of these tendencies; it will be sufficient to illustrate them, one by one. Tertullian, the fiery African defender of the faith, made a typical second-century tirade against Judaism. He attacked the Jewish Sabbath and circumcision as being external and valueless; the Messiah would substitute in his own good time spiritual circumcision and the eternal Sabbath. Justin the Martyr was the outstanding apologist of the same century with his "Dialogue with Trypho the Jew." Here he shows by the symbolic method, which became the typical theological method of the Middle Ages, that the Old Testament prefigures Jesus at every turn. Even Moses stretching out his arms with the support of Aaron and Hur becomes a type symbolic of the Cross. But Justin, with all his efforts to make Christianity reasonable to a believing Jew, also resorts to an attack. "You have slain the Just One and his prophets before him, and now you reject those who hope in him, cursing in your synagogues those who believe in Christ . . . crucified under Pontius Pilate by your nation." There are here, obviously, two charges: that the Jews were responsible for the crucifixion and that they cursed the Christians in their prayers.

St. John Chrysostom in the third century delivered a series of eight brilliant orations in which he ran the gamut from refutation of Judaism to attacks on the Jews. He fears the Judaizing heresy in the Church and warns his hearers: "Do not frequent the synagogues, do not observe the Sabbaths. If you think that Judaism is true, leave the Church; if not, quit Judaism." Then he goes on to show that the Jews are obstinate, vindictive, cruel; that they must bear the sole guilt

for the death of Jesus, that they (save the mark!) are guilty of persecution.

Irenaeus admits that the act of the Jews in crucifying Jesus was necessary for the purpose of salvation, but insists that they are thereby condemned to hell: "Unless the Jews had become the slayers of the Lord and by killing the apostles and persecuting the Church had fallen into an abyss of wrath, we could not have been saved."

It is curious how little actual depiction these early writers give of actual Jews, or of contact between Jews and Christians in their own times. What little they tell suggests that there was no difference between the two in appearance, in economic life, in status as citizens, but only in religion. The constant warnings imply that Jews must have visited churches and that Christians returned the visits to the synagogues; even that conversions were taking place in both directions. The Jew of the Church Fathers was not a person, but a fabulous monster, a theological abstraction invented from Old Testament texts (cited correctly or falsely according to the occasion), simply for contrast with the true faith.

Such writing and preaching won its goal in the decisive fourth century. The Empire became Christian and enforced the edicts of the Church councils against the Jews. In 313 Constantine issued an edict putting all religions on an equality in his Empire; but two years later he made an exception against the Jews. At the Council of Nicaea the final bond with Judaism was broken when Easter was removed from the Passover week, at which time many Christians had celebrated it. Constantine suppressed both the pagan and the Jewish religions in favor of Christianity. He forbade pros-

elytism and protected apostates from the revenge of the Jews, thus favoring conversion from Judaism but not toward it. He prevented any Jews from visiting Jerusalem except on the anniversary of its destruction when they pilgrimaged there to lament over their lost land; the right to make such pilgrimages was purchased by the payment of a special tax, which literally forced the exiled Jews to "buy their tears."

Later Emperors, inheriting a Christian realm, were more arbitrary than Constantine had been during this transition period. They forbade Jews to circumcise Christians, to own Christian slaves, to marry Christians. One suspects that such laws, together with Chrysostom's pleas, indicate a rather close association of Jews with Christians during this period. The law against slaveholding was especially important; most labor was the work of slaves, much wealth was in the form of slaves, and the economic purpose of such legislation was evidently to impoverish the Jews, even as its theological purpose was to prevent their influence upon Christians.

This little known period has been very closely studied by James W. Parkes in his book, "The Conflict of the Church and the Synagogue." Dr. Parkes is the minister of the English church in Geneva, and his impartial study of the Jewish question is proved by the fact that his home was at one time broken into by Nazis, who searched his library and destroyed many of his papers. He points out that the laws of the Roman Empire continued the assured status of the Jews as Roman citizens, giving them rights above those of Christian heretics. "The heretic was forbidden to hold meetings or to possess property. The Jew could do both. The heretic could be put to death. The Jew could only be executed for a crime. The books of the heretics were burnt. The Torah of the Jew



was a sacred book of the Church. In a word, the heretic could be forbidden to exist. The Jew could not."

The Code of Theodosius gave the Jews a tolerated status, with clearly marked rights. But these rights were steadily whittled away, and whenever one was removed, it was never afterwards restored. The Code of Justinian omitted half of Theodosius' fifty laws about the Jews, thus removing many of their specific privileges. Each code was less liberal and more severe than its predecessor.

Heavy taxes were levied on the Jews by the Code of Justinian, which even deprived them in certain respects of their independent courts and their own laws. They were prohibited from celebrating the Passover before Easter, their Sabbath observances were restricted, they were even forbidden to recite the Shema, their declaration of faith, because its affirmation of one God might be considered an attack on the Trinity. This declaration of faith, from Deuteronomy 6:4 reads: "Hear O Israel, the Lord our God, the Lord is one." It is recited three times daily by the observant Jew even today. It is the central feature of every public service, and is the last sentence uttered by a dying Jew. Certainly, its vigorous affirmation of God's unity does imply a denial of any other theory of God. But this very sentence is quoted by Jesus in the gospels as one of the most significant passages in the Torah. The prohibition of the Shema was practically a denial of the right of Jews to worship. The death penalty was imposed for such offenses as intermarriage and proselytism, according to the usual severe code of the ancient world. Every effort was exerted by the dominant Church, not only to suppress Judaism as a rival religion, but also to make it seem contemptible in the eyes of Christians.

This spirit of antagonism, as always, aroused mob violence from time to time. These outbreaks occurred chiefly in the old hotbeds of competition and hatred, such as Egypt and Syria, and were marked by synagogue burnings and forced conversions. In Alexandria St. Cyril stirred up the monks until they invaded the city and, followed by the mob, attacked both the Jewish and pagan quarters. Synagogues were burned, Jewish homes plundered, and the Jews expelled from the city. Antioch saw similar scenes of violence; Palestine during war witnessed military massacres. The Jewish patriarch in Palestine was deprived of his power; the center of Jewish life was moved perforce to Babylonia, under the milder rule of the Persians. In fact, the Jewish literary and political center, harried out of Christian lands, remained removed from them until as late as 1492, first under the Persians, then under the Moslems in Babylonia and in Spain.

We must note that the greater part of this movement against the Jews, literary, legal and often in the form of direct violence, was the work of the rising Church. The Arians were far milder in their attitude and the Moslems accorded Jews a wide degree of toleration. A fine example of this contrast is evident in Spain. The Visigoths, who settled that country, were originally Arians; either because that Unitarian creed was nearer to Judaism, or because they lacked the power of the Church, with its councils and its ascendancy over the Empire, they gave the large number of Jews already residing in Spain a wide measure of freedom. But in the year 598 their king Reccared was converted to the orthodox faith and from that day Spain became the center of anti-Jewish legislation.

The large number of Jews in the country, the wealth they

had previously amassed, made them a special target of both church and state. Bit by bit they were attacked from one side and another; they were forbidden to observe either circumcision or the dietary laws; to read books condemned by the Church; to testify against Christians; to hold public office. Occasionally they were directly attacked, and offered the choice between exile and baptism. Their lives were rendered precarious, their religion impotent. In the 630's a council was held at Toledo under the great Bishop Isidore of Seville, who would be much shocked that his name is today so popular as a given name among Jews. The restrictive laws against the Jews were there increased, but the most interesting act concerned forced baptism. The council disapproved of such action, but held the convert once he had entered the Church, and punished him severely for any later lapse. This came to be the general practice during the Middle Ages, to frown upon force but to accept the forced convert and insist upon his conformity. Under King Egica all unbaptized Jews were reduced to the status of slaves, a measure which was only temporary.

But in 711 Spain was conquered by the Moslems, and the Jews were placed under a program of toleration. Islam, like Christianity, was partly Jewish in its background. Mohammed, like early Christian leaders, had at first solicited Jewish support, then condemned the Jews because they would not accept his teachings. But he had made a distinction between the "book religions" and pagan worship. Pagans were offered in his conquests the choice between the Koran and the sword; Jews and Christians were given a third possibility, the payment of tribute. There was no question of citizenship, as there had been in Rome, for Moslem lands were all ruled

by absolute monarchs, and even the faithful had no such rights. But there was the possibility and usually the practice of tolerance.

The Jewish communities were allowed their own organization, leadership, and laws; they were responsible to the rulers only for order and taxation. The Jews were rigidly separated from the true believers, could not mingle with them, had their separate quarters in the Moslem cities, often were distinguished by different dress. But within these limits they were tolerated by Islam, except for rare outbreaks of fanaticism and persecution. The prime foe of Judaism was the Christian Church, and in the Middle Ages the Church was triumphant.

## CHAPTER V

### *The Christian Middle Ages*

FROM THE BEGINNING of the dispersion the Jews assumed the status of a minority group. As a minority they varied between tolerance and persecution, according to the people among whom they dwelt and the spirit of the times. But their status was never strictly normal as it had been in their own land. Certainly the situation depended largely on the laws regarding citizenship and minority groups in general.

Under the Roman Empire that law had been strict and clear; conquered nationalities like the Jews had certain rights if they abstained from rebellion. The individual Jew was *civis Romanus, religionis Judaei*, a Roman citizen of the Jewish faith. The Jews might live in various parts of the Empire as separate groups under their own law; they might observe their own religion; some of them even became Roman citizens and enjoyed and shared the superior rights of the ruling people of the world. Some of them were captured and sold as slaves; but even they might be happily ransomed by their brothers or freed by their masters. With the breakdown of the Empire, many of these conditions remained in law, but few of them in practice. For two or three centuries there was no certainty regarding the rights of even a Roman citizen.

But so far as rights existed in that lawless time, the Jews enjoyed them. The Jews were legally approved as slave traders, except for the ownership of Christian slaves; no at-



tack is known on them as traders or usurers; the only charge against the Jew during this whole age is the religious one of *perfidia*, want of faith. As Parkes says: "In the mass of references to usury there is no place where 'Jew' and 'usurer' are connected; the only explicit reference to a Jewish money-lender in the west is to Armentarius, who came to Tours to collect a debt owed him by two officials, and was murdered instead. . . . Before the eighth century we not only cannot speak of the Jew as the only trader in western Europe, but we have no evidence for assuming his importance to be equal to that of the Syrian. Religious distinction, not commercial aptitude, caused his survival when the Syrian disappeared."

In western Europe came into being a world in which rights simply did not exist at all, a world based on birth, on special privileges of classes, but not on personal rights. That world we know by the name of feudalism. The Jew was automatically excluded from the feudal state; his status reverted to that of an alien, as before the supremacy of Rome. He was an outsider, with whatever privileges might be granted to his class, but with absolutely no rights as an individual. The feudal world was a class society, resting on the ownership and cultivation of the land. It was like a gigantic pyramid, with the serfs at the bottom, then the squires, knights, and lords, up to the king in England or the emperor in the Holy Roman Empire. Each class had privileges and duties; rights as the Romans had known them were completely out of the picture. Each class owed to the class above it, through its own overlord, loyalty and service, labor and the bearing of arms; each class owed to those below a full measure of protection. Every oath in all this class society was given through the Church, so that the Christian faith was an integral part of the feudal system.



All this meant that the Jew could not hope to be anything but an outsider. He was not a member of the Church; he could therefore neither own nor till land, neither bear arms nor render service for his protection. But one recourse was left—he could pay. In a society where money was very scarce indeed, where farm and castle alike subsisted largely on their own produce, the Jew had to pay direct taxes in money, and thus had a special value to the State. As he had no overlord, being outside the feudal pyramid of classes, he was looked on as being directly under the Emperor, and was legally classed as *servus camerae*, servant of the imperial chamber. There was no degradation in this, although such a position was fraught with plenty of inconveniences and held at very high cost. In return, the Emperor was supposed to protect “his Jews”; but as he was often far away and his authority at times became quite shadowy, nearer powers might easily molest these unhappy aliens, or have to be bought off in turn.

Kept off the land and herded in the towns, the Jews became a special, semi-legal class. Every class had its own street, its own distinctive costume, its own occupation, its own rules of conduct. Every man signed an official document (if he could write at all) as the Baron Rudolph, or the Serf Hans, or the Jew Isaac. It was only natural, then, for the Jew to have his *rue de juif* or *Judengasse* wherever he chanced to live, his own peculiar costume, his own synagogue, his own communal officers. It was also natural for a class to be limited to certain occupations, and as the Jews were the one class outside the feudal system and the Church, these occupations must be those left over to them by the more fortunate majority.

One such business was dealing in old clothes, a fairly important one in those days, when the rich wore substantial

and durable clothing, while the poor could hardly afford rags to cover their nakedness and were glad to buy secondhand garments of good quality. Another was moneylending, as the taking of interest was forbidden by the Church to all good Christians, but a source of loans was necessary for both the rich, who needed to outfit themselves for war, and the poor, who might need a few coins in order to live. A third was retail trade, especially importing goods from foreign lands and peddling merchandise throughout the country. In the early Middle Ages Jews often engaged in other occupations, including handicrafts; but as the guilds developed, with their monopoly of various types of work and their semi-religious organization, they forced the Jews out of one field after another and practically restricted them to these few means of livelihood. At the same time there were always a few Jewish butchers to provide kosher meat for their own group and similar Jewish occupations.

We can easily survey the development of anti-Jewish movements in the Middle Ages under three headings: the Church, the law, and the mob. These three usually went together, so that a period of anti-Jewish preaching would be followed by restrictive laws and mob violence. But this was not always the case. Often the kings and the barons would protect the Jews against the Church and the mob, because of their own vested rights in taxing the Jews, or even as a national policy, to preserve a valuable element in the body politic. The Church always sought the conversion of the Jews, and most monarchs were good enough Catholics to agree; but a few actually opposed the effort in order to insure the special taxes which they received from Jews but could not collect from converts. On the other hand, the Popes some-

times counseled mildness, particularly in regard to the ritual murder accusation; but when the mob was thoroughly stirred not even the Holy Father could stay them.

Of these three elements the prime mover was the Church. The general rule of Church policy had been laid down by Pope Gregory the Great as early as 600: "Just as it should not be permitted the Jews to presume to do in their synagogues anything other than what is permitted them by law, so with regard to those things which have been conceded them, they ought to suffer no injury." This principle was frequently repeated, but the limits of what the Jews were allowed to do became constantly narrower. Certainly the Church did not desire their deaths; they must live on as bearers of the old Law, as witnesses to Christ. The synagogue was the concubine while the Church was the lawful wife. Often we find statues of synagogue and Church, showing the one as a crouching, bound slave, the other erect, crowned and triumphant. Yet Innocent III, the relentless persecutor of the Jews, issued a *Constitutio pro Judeis*, an Edict in favor of the Jews, in which he outlined this same policy and stated expressly that the Jews were not to be attacked in their persons or in the exercise of their religion.

But the Church sought ever the conversion of the Jews into good Christians, and the prevention of proselytism by the Jews among its children. And in these two related efforts it steadily narrowed Jewish life by further restrictions and kept Jews more and more from association with Christians. According to rule, only voluntary conversions might be accepted, not baptism under force. But once a man had accepted Christianity, whatever the circumstances of his conversion, he was considered a Christian, so that the prohibi-

tion of forced conversions became practically a dead letter. St. Bernard of Clairvaux laid down the principle for conversion: "Does not the Church triumph more fully over the Jews by convincing or converting them from day to day, than if she once and forever were to slay them all with the edge of the sword?"

Yet forcible conversion went on, sometimes even led by prelates. In the year 1391 a typical mob outbreak against the Jews occurred in Spain which resulted in many thousands of forced conversions. The series of massacres was of the same kind that has occurred many times in many lands, even up to the twentieth century. It happened that a fanatically anti-Jewish priest, Ferrand Martinez, confessor to the Spanish queen during the minority of her infant son, was at the same time a powerful popular orator. Year after year he had raged against these infidels, even against the wishes of the king and Pope. Now he was free to denounce the Jews and stirred the people against them to a desperate pitch. His followers attacked the Jewish quarter of Seville, where they indulged in an orgy of slaughter, looting, and mutilation, killing fully four thousand Jews and driving the rest into the hospitable arms of the Church as their only refuge.

Over seventy Spanish towns followed Seville in rapid succession, many of them slaughtering every Jew in the city, and many others making great numbers of "converts." For while the mob outrages were of the usual type, their results were indeed unusual. In England, in the Rhine cities during the Crusades, in many other places, the Jews furnished their many martyrs and their few converts. Here the wave of massacre was followed by a vast wave of conversions; the wealthy Spanish Jews escaped at once the threat of sudden

death and the constant Jewish disabilities by entering the bosom of the Church. Usually the Jews, in such a stress, had courted martyrdom or even in their desperation had slain themselves and their families rather than be baptized. At other times they conformed outwardly, but retained their loyalty to Judaism, which brought new problems for the Church to solve.

The greatest mass conversion by force occurred in Portugal in 1497, when the entire Jewish population of the country, some 20,000 souls, were marched up to the altars and baptized. Then only a few years later these untaught and unwilling Christians were given over to the supervision of the Inquisition.

Ordinarily, however, the Church followed milder methods. The Jews were forced to listen to Christian sermons; public disputations were arranged between Jews and Christians; rewards were offered to converts, the greatest of which was release from the increasing Jewish disabilities. Browning gives an incisive picture of the conversionist sermon in his "Holy-Cross Day":

*"By the torture, prolonged from age to age,  
By the infamy, Israel's heritage,  
By the Ghetto's plague, by the garb's disgrace,  
By the badge of shame, by the felon's place,  
By the branding-tool, the bloody whip,  
And the summons to Christian fellowship,—  
We boast our proof that at least the Jew  
Would wrest Christ's name from the Devil's crew."*

This curious institution, by which Jews were forced from time to time to attend special conversionist sermons and



listen to the refutation of Judaism and the superiority of Christianity, together with much abuse and denunciation, was eclipsed by the even more curious public disputation. Here selected monks disputed on religious issues against certain rabbis before Christian judges; at the end the rabbis were ordinarily condemned and often ordered to accept baptism. A famous disputation took place in Spain between Pablo Christiani, a converted Jew who had become a Dominican, and Nachmanides, the leading Jewish scholar of his day. For four long days they argued before the king and court on the Messiah, the divinity of Jesus and the Talmud; in this case the rabbi won, but prudently left for Palestine soon afterwards. Many such disputations were held through the following centuries, chiefly in Spain.

The most important of the disputations was probably the one held in Paris in 1240 in defense of the Talmud. Nicholas Donin, a convert from Judaism, accused the Talmud of blasphemy against the Christian faith before Pope Gregory IX, who wrote the Bishop of Paris concerning the heresy. All copies of the Talmud available were secretly seized, and the Jews then ordered to defend the work. Naturally the decision went against them (what did the court know of the matter?) and twenty-four cartloads of manuscripts were burned in the year 1242. For a parallel case of the persecution of a book, we have to go back to the Emperor Justinian or forward to Hitler in the Germany of 1933. Such measures, while they by no means suppressed Judaism, actually did cripple its study seriously for generations, and have deprived modern students of a mass of important manuscripts.

The writing of books to refute Judaism constantly went



on. Apologetics was an important form of literature among the scholastics, and even Thomas Aquinas wrote a great work, "Contra Gentiles," to establish the true faith against the Moslems and the Jews. A typical work is Pierre of Blois's "Against the Perfidy of the Jews," in which he brings forth proofs from the Old Testament, by the symbolic method, in favor of the Trinity, the messianic character of Jesus, and other Christian doctrines. He ends with the proof that the law had been transmitted to the gentiles, but that a remnant of the Jews will be converted to Christianity and saved at last. By the spoken and written word, in public and in private, by the preaching of Christianity and the burning of Jewish books, the Church tried to bring about the conversion of the Jews and to prevent the falling away of Christians.

A very important move to prevent proselytism was the forbidding of Jews to own Christian slaves or hire Christian servants who might fall under Jewish religious influences. Laws of this nature, in force from the time of Constantine, were constantly repeated, indicating that they were not too carefully enforced. For one thing, Jews were usually permitted to engage Christian servants for ordinary work, but not to take them into their homes or to associate too closely with them. For another, Moslem or pagan slaves might easily win their freedom from their Jewish master by being baptized; the Church would have permitted this, but the soldiers and barons objected; they profited greatly from these captives, and feared their human booty from the various wars would lose its value.

In spite of all these measures, in spite even of the terrific threat of the Inquisition, converts to Judaism were constantly being made though in small numbers. Naturally the converts

to Christianity were much more numerous, especially in time of mob violence or mass conversions. Many of these converts were probably thoroughly insincere, but others became true fanatics in their enthusiasm for their new faith. Such a man was Nicholas Donin, persecutor of the Talmud, or his successor two hundred years later, Johannes Pfefferkorn. Some of the Christians who engaged in controversies with rabbis had originally been Jews. One of the most remarkable was Paul de Santa Maria, who had originally been Rabbi Solomon Levi. He and his family were converted in Burgos, Spain, after the massacres of 1391, when he was over forty. He then studied theology, became a priest, rose to be bishop and even chancellor of Castile. Meanwhile he wrote most bitterly against Judaism and instigated one persecution after another, drawing upon his peculiar knowledge and his hatred of his old faith.

Of all the measures in defense of the Christian faith, the outstanding institution is the Holy Office of the Inquisition. While bishops had always inquired into the soundness of the faith of their people, as a special organization this dates from the opening of the thirteenth century, when it was organized to stamp out the Albigenses in southern France. After the crusade against this devoted heretical sect had destroyed their cities and scattered their members, the Inquisition stepped in to complete the work.

It established special courts for this purpose, where the accused were examined in the usual way by threats and torture mingled with persuasion and preaching. The Inquisition was put in charge of the newly founded Dominican order, which thus became the most active arm of the Church in hunting down heretics. It had no authority over professing Jews

unless they were accused of proselytism or interfering with Christianity, but it had full authority wherever it was established over all Christians, to inquire (according to the literal meaning of its name) into their faith and conduct. Among the various types of heretics who were hunted down with equal fervor and punished with equal severity, we find always the Judaizers. And, as we might expect, the most of these were recent and often forcible converts from Judaism, who had joined the Church not through faith but through fear.

The supreme influence of the Inquisition, and also its most powerful contact with the Jewish converts, developed in Spain. After the riots of 1391 there grew up a large class of "new Christians," as they were called, in that land. This mass conversion brought its own problems because the new Christians were exempt from all Jewish disabilities but competed on equal terms with the old and orthodox Christians. Some of them became rich, intermarried with noble families, or even entered the priesthood. This, naturally, gave rise to much complaint; instead of the Jews being eliminated, these undesirables had merely been invited into the Church. At the same time these intruders were always suspected of leaning toward Judaism—and in many cases correctly. They had certainly not been won over but had merely been forced to conform. Meanwhile there remained in Spain for a hundred years a community of Jews by faith, subject to special Jewish laws which the new Christians escaped, but able to observe their faith in public, which the new Christians were forbidden to do. We can see how this complicated situation gave rise first to riots and murders, then to a demand for the Inquisition.

In response to this demand, the Holy Office was established in Spain as a national institution in 1478; its outstanding Chief Inquisitor, Thomas de Torquemada, was himself of Jewish descent, but proved a fanatical examiner and judge. The first tribunal met in 1480; the first Auto-da-Fe (or Act of Faith) was held in February, 1481, when six Jews were burned alive. The last execution on a charge of backsliding to Judaism was held in 1745, two hundred and sixty-four years later, and the Inquisition itself was not officially abolished in Spain until the period of Napoleon in 1808.

During these bloody two centuries and a half, at least 30,000 persons were executed for reverting to Judaism, another 15,000 who had fled were burned in effigy and their property confiscated; and fully 300,000 were "reconciled" to Mother Church with milder punishments, ranging from penance and fine to banishment and complete confiscation. In the smaller country of Portugal, the figures are equally astonishing. Exact records show that in that country 40,000 cases were tried in these three centuries, of which 30,000 resulted in convictions: 1,175 persons were burned at the stake, 600 more in effigy, and the rest reconciled with lesser penalties. As Cecil Roth, the historian of the Marranos (Secret Jews), puts it: "Since history began, perhaps, in no spot on the earth's surface has so systematic and so protracted a persecution ever been perpetrated for so innocent a crime."

The crime as charged was the secret practice of Judaism. Very slight evidence was enough to convict the accused before the court, such matters as putting on clean linen on Saturday and avoiding the eating of pork being held conclusive. Any type of information would suffice to arrest a suspect—the evidence of a disgruntled servant, a business com-

petitor or a paid spy. Once a new Christian was in prison, he was subject to examination by torture, at that time the general custom of all courts, civil or religious. By this means a confession was usually procured sooner or later, after which the unhappy victim was forced to give the names of other Marranos. In this way one suspect, even though innocent, would lead to dozens or even hundreds of other arrests, until whole families and often whole small communities had been imprisoned and condemned or reconciled.

For those who repented their relapse from faith, public penance, humiliation, and fine were deemed sufficient punishment. For second offenders, defiant Judaizers, or for those (often innocent) who refused to confess under torture, the punishment was death. As the Church could not shed blood, it washed its hands like Pilate and turned the offenders over to the State, which had no scruples in lighting the funeral pyres. A last-minute repentance might secure the minor mercy of strangling, so that only a dead body was given to the flames. If an offender had fled, he could be burned in effigy—more than a mere symbol, as the punishment signified the forfeiture of his entire property. If he was dead, his corpse might be disinterred and burned, again a punishment which deprived the dead man's heirs of whatever they had received as their rightful legacy.

The method of the Inquisition was both secret and autocratic. The suspect would simply disappear from his home. He was never told the charges or confronted with his accusers. Instead he was brought before the Dominicans who were at once his accusers and his judges, whose first object was to extract from him a confession that might help to save his soul and later to wring from him the names of other



victims. The tortures were of the utmost refinement of cruelty. In the case of women, they were usually preceded by stripping the accused, apparently to add a further touch of humiliation. The rack, the wheel or the screws were applied until the prisoner was unconscious; then the sufferer was put back into his dungeon for a few days, only to be taken out when his strength permitted to be put to the question again. Along with this the accused suffered exhortations, threats, and bribes, until a child of ten or an aged woman might yield and make the desired statements. There was never any opportunity to prove one's innocence. The lack of charges and witnesses prevented such a possibility; no man would imperil the lives of his nearest kin by even naming them as witnesses to his fidelity.

The fear inspired by such methods would seem to have been sufficient to prevent backsliding, yet there were ever new suspects and new autos-de-fe. One sometimes wonders whether even the thorough methods of the Tribunal were really finding so many heretics, or whether political victims and converts of enviable wealth did not help to swell the total. Certainly converts and their children were always subject to suspicion, a suspicion which often continued for as many as six generations. Yet the parents of Baruch Spinoza, who escaped from Spain to Holland, were the fourth generation of Marranos, and many others must have been equally courageous as well as loyal to the faith of their fathers. Force could kill Jews; it failed to kill Judaism.

The double effort to save the souls of backsliding converts and to protect Christians from their propaganda was as successful with the Jews as with the many heretical sects of Christians, who, we must remember, were treated with equal



vindictiveness and equal brutality. The Albigenses and the Hussites, two hundred years apart and dwellers in opposite ends of Europe, were suppressed with the same terrible vigor. From the religious point of view, the Jew was a minority sect like any other, but the Judaizer was a back-sliding Christian, a heretic.

As Joseph Jacobs says in his "Jewish Contributions to Civilization": "The position of the Jews in the medieval Church-State was remarkable in many respects. It is the first great example of toleration in Church policy after the Catholic idea of repudiation of heresy had prevailed. Contrast the case of an Albigeois of Narbonne with a Jew of the same city at the beginning of the thirteenth century. The former, because he doubted the Virgin birth of Christ or held divergent views as to the Procession of the Holy Ghost, would be condemned to the flames, whereas the Narbonne Jew was allowed to live on, with life and property secure, though he equally repudiated the Virgin birth and did not even profess to acknowledge the existence of the Holy Ghost."

Besides these grave measures to protect the faith, there were others which seem specifically invented to annoy and humiliate the Jews. Such were the rules that Jews must remain secluded during the three days from Good Friday to Easter Sunday; that they should not occupy any public office; that they must not enter churches, even to leave valuables in safekeeping, a custom which held during certain periods when the churches served as asylums for both persons and property, and the prelates were sometimes silent partners in the business ventures of the Jews; that they must wear a special mark on their clothes, usually known as the Jewish badge.

This last was one of the rules of the Fourth Lateran Council of 1215, under Pope Innocent III, which enacted many regulations concerning the Jews. "It sometimes happens that by mistake Christians have relations with Jewish or Saracen women," we are told, "and Jews or Saracens with Christian women. Therefore, lest these people, under the cover of an error, find an excuse for the grave sin of such intercourse, we decree that these people of either sex, and in all Christian lands, and at all times, shall easily be distinguishable from the rest of the populations by the quality of their clothes; especially since such legislation is imposed upon them also by Moses." As a law this was not exceptional; every class of society had its own costume, such as the scholar's gown, which still survives in our academic processions. But this rule was applied so as to injure and to humiliate the Jews.

Various countries laid down their regulations for the Jewish badge. Usually it was a large yellow circle worn over the left breast, and for women a yellow veil. Sometimes it was a tall painted red hat. Other forms were sometimes adopted, but everywhere the badge singled the Jew out for ridicule, abuse, and too often actual violence. This became so flagrant that sometimes a Jew was permitted to lay aside his badge on a long journey (the very time it should have been valuable as a distinguishing mark, had the law been a reasonable one) in order to protect his life. The Jewish badge, as a visible mark of degradation, was a constant humiliation to the Jew, a symbol of inferiority; while to the Christian it signified that this race of pariahs was set apart as a sacrifice to a victorious Church.

The Church stood ordinarily against the Jew though it

sometimes moderated certain rules with a fine humanity. The kings and barons, on the other hand, were usually rude and barbarous men, treating their subordinates and their captives with incredible brutality. Yet they were often the defenders of the Jew against the demands of the Church. The reason for this was a financial one; the Jews were directly under the power of the king, emperor or other ruler of a district. As there was practically no limit on taxation in the Middle Ages, the Jews being especially helpless under the unjust levies constantly laid upon them, the overlord became the silent but major partner in the business of the Jew, receiving the greater share of the latter's profits in return for his protection.

The king might grant the Jews a charter or expel them from his realm, but if he expelled them he lost taxes which nobody else could make up, for most other dues were paid in kind, while the Jew paid his tribute in gold or silver coin. A monarch might increase the tax to the point of confiscation, as Henry III of England actually did, with the result that the Jews became as valueless to him as the fabled goose which could no longer lay golden eggs. The king might remit certain debts due the Jews, as in the case of the Crusaders, or he might declare a moratorium on them for a period; but in such cases it was usually the Jew who suffered loss, not the crown. A ruler might even sell or give away his rights to the Jews in a certain district, just as he might assign a city to his daughter as a dowry. Some have taken this as meaning that the Jews were slaves of the king, and have pointed to the word *servus* as proof. But *servus* does not mean "slave," merely "a dependent"; the Jews were not sold like cattle, though the rule over them might be transferred like the rule

over a city. The kings, then, had a valuable property in their Jews, and ordinarily protected them, yielding from time to time either to the urgency of the Church or to the outbursts of an inflamed mob.

In the ninth century, for example, Louis, the son of Charlemagne, gave the Jews of France a charter, which was bitterly protested by the Council of Lyons in 829. The same protest followed the granting of royal charters to the Jews of England and of Poland in the thirteenth century. As a matter of fact, the special occupations of the Jews which made them so valuable for taxation, were simply another charge against them. As Pierre de Cluny put it: "If the Jews fill their granaries with fruit, their cellars with victuals, their bags with money and their chests with gold, it is neither by tilling the earth, nor by serving in war, nor by practising any other useful and honorable trade, but by cheating the Christians and buying at a low price from thieves the things they have stolen."

The king laid down the legal rate of interest, which varied as much as from 20 to 100 per cent a year, according to the dangers of those troubled times and the cupidity of the reigning monarch. Then the king extracted his royal share. This meant the Jew had to charge more, if he could, to cover such taxation. Then the people would revolt or a baron might seize the Jewish moneylender and tear up his notes. Additional taxes were constantly being assessed—for a war, a Crusade, a church building, for fines or bribes. So the Jews continued to occupy an exposed position, where even the interests of their protectors might waver, where enemies were numerous as they were powerful, and where no one took their plight to heart because, after all, they were

the enemies of Christ and to plunder them became practically a Christian obligation.

It is true that Christians also entered the moneylending trade during the thirteenth century, even against the will of the Church, by one or another legal fiction. These Lombards from Italy or Cahorsins from southern France exacted just as high interest as the Jews and were almost as unpopular; both groups were attacked in many a popular uprising. But their stigma was personal, while that of the Jews was national and applied to the entire group of "leeches and blood-suckers," even to those who had no connection whatever with this hated calling.

England is one country where the Jews seem to have been taxed until they had nothing more to give, and then to have been flung away like an empty shell. The Jews had entered England with William the Conqueror and had established their communities in several small towns. The kings had granted them charters and had exacted the usual heavy returns. At the coronation of Richard the Lion-Hearted in 1190, a fearful massacre broke out in which the Jews' quarter of London was burned, and the Jews either perished in the flames or rushed forth to perish on their enemies' swords. This was followed by mob violence in various towns, where whole communities were literally wiped out and the goods of the massacred plundered by the populace. It is interesting that even nobles tried to secure possession of the notes these harried Jews held in order to avoid payment. In the town of York the Jews, after a siege of six days, finally killed their families and themselves rather than fall into the hands of their brutal enemies.

King John brought order if not relief. John did not allow



anybody but himself to plunder his Jews; it was not to his interest to kill them. There is a well-known story of how he demanded the vast sum of 10,000 marks from Abraham of Bristol; upon the Jew's refusal to pay, the monarch ordered a tooth drawn each day until, at the end of a week, the old man finally yielded and promised to raise the required amount. Such an incident, some Shakespearean scholars believe, suggested the line, "worth a Jew's eye" in the drama of another moneylender, "The Merchant of Venice."

Later Henry III ruined the Jews of England through special exactions to finance the wars during that troubled period when the king had constantly to defend his realm. At one time he levied a third of their entire property. At another time he called a parliament of the Jews (not as a parliament, indeed!) to consult with them how to raise 20,000 marks he needed at the moment. By the time he had finished, he had extracted 60,000 gold marks, an enormous sum in those poverty-stricken days, and the despairing Jews asked permission to leave England. Henry refused but lowered their taxes for the time being. Edward I found the Jews already impoverished when he took the throne. At the same time various accusations were constantly brought against them; mob outbreaks occurred from time to time. So he completed the good work by taking from them the little property they had left and in return for a special tax from the Commons consented to drive the Jews out of the country. This expulsion, the first of the great expulsions of this period, took place in 1290 when 16,000 Jews were driven into exile. Many of them reached the Continent; but others were plundered and drowned at sea by those whom they had paid for a safe passage.



After the repression by the Church and the exactions of the law we must consider the violence of the mob. In point of time it often preceded the second element, though throughout the Middle Ages the persecutions of the Church were primary. Outbreaks of mob violence came in periods of social or religious unrest, as a result of the suffering of the downtrodden populace, combined with inflammatory preaching against the enemies of Christendom. Such a period was the thirteenth century in England, as we have just seen. Such a period also was the era of the First Crusade, when thousands of French, Germans, and English of every social class were uprooted from their homes and gathered into great armies pledged to the warfare of the Cross. "Why should we cross the seas to fight the Saracens," we can hear the folk saying, "when we leave behind the Jews, forever cursed as the enemies of Christ?"

These motley hosts, filled with religious enthusiasm but without order or discipline, prepared for their stern warfare in the Orient by slaughtering unarmed Jews at home in the Rhine cities. The little communities, subjects of the various bishops and local princes, were quite without defense. The attack became a massacre, then a holocaust.

To quote one of the old Jewish chronicles: "Upon the third day of Sivan it was granted to the saints of the congregation of Mainz, separated and purified, to ascend unto God together. All were in the bishop's great hall when the wrath of God rose against them like a flame. With them were the Torah and greatness of soul, wealth and honor, wisdom and humility, charity and faith. And all was mown down. They were destroyed as were the sons of Jerusalem when the temple and city fell. . . . When the sons of the holy

covenant saw that their fate was about to be fulfilled since their murderers swarmed into the court, they lifted up their voices and wept. Their one fear was that the weakness of the human flesh under the extremity of torture might keep any from sanctifying the ineffable Name."

It would be too painfully monotonous and would have little meaning to tell in detail the red story of such attacks: those in Spain in 1391 led by Ferrand Martinez; the Armleder riots in Germany in 1336; the many scenes of violence inspired by John Capistrano, the papal legate, in different parts of Europe in 1447. Every crusade was a repetition of the first; every century had its wars, its interregnums and its famines, and in any of these the first victim was the helpless and hated Jew. Every revolt of the peasants meant an attack upon the rich and the Jews. Every riot against the royal tax-gatherers included the Jews among its objects of violence. Even Simon de Montfort in England had plundered the Jews because they were the vassals and friends of the king—that very King Henry who was so ready to plunder them himself! As late as 1648 the revolt of the Cossacks against their Polish masters led to frightful slaughter of the Polish Jews, the agents and servants of the Poles.

This general hostility was intensified by a series of accusations against the Jews which grew up during the Middle Ages. The first was that of ritual murder, usually in the form of a charge that the Jews used the blood of a Christian child in making their unleavened cakes for the Passover. Whenever a child disappeared, therefore, the Jews were blamed. When a murder was committed, the body might be thrown into the Jewish quarter and give rise to accusations.

Even when no violence had occurred, the charge repeated in all faith during the holy season—for Passover and Easter usually coincide—might bring about a massacre and give rise to the shrine of another fabled victim like that of Hugh of Lincoln.

The blood accusation spread like wildfire, even though it had not the slightest support in either Bible or Talmud and was actually denied officially by several popes. Innocent IV refuted the slander in official letters and threatened punishment to Christians who tortured or killed Jews on such a baseless charge. "Despite the fact," he wrote, "that Divine Scripture pronounces the law, 'Thou shalt not kill,' and despite the fact that it prohibits the Jews, while solemnizing the Passover, to touch any dead body, nevertheless they are falsely accused that during this very festival they share the heart of a murdered child. No matter where a dead body is found, their persecutors wickedly throw it up to them. . . . The Jews are living, as it were, under the rule of said princes, nobles and potentates, in worse condition than did their ancestors under Pharaoh in Egypt."

Even such a powerful statement, repeatedly expressed, could not stop the myth-making trend of the times. Charges such as this have been alleged from 1171 in Blois to 1911 in Kiev. One of the most interesting cases is found in Fulda, Germany, in 1235, particularly noteworthy because the Emperor Frederick II himself took part in the tragedy. A house burned down and several children perished, so, as was fitting, the Jews were blamed. There were the usual tortures, confessions, and an impromptu massacre. The Emperor then appointed a commission of inquiry which took evidence from

converted Jews and ruled against the charges. Yet the charges continued and with them tortures, massacres, and the constant spread of hatred.

Following this charge there grew up a still more fantastic one, that the Jews had desecrated the consecrated wafer or Host. It is plain that only Christians could dream of such an offense; the Jews could never even imagine it, not only because they were thoroughly cowed by the power of the Church, but also because they attached no sanctity to the holy wafer itself. Usually this charge was accompanied by miracles; the pierced wafer bled or cried out aloud, leading to the discovery of the blasphemy. Then came the massacres, the erection of a shrine, the coming of pilgrims, the retelling of the story in a miracle play. Such an incident occurred in 1298 in the little town of Roettingen in Bavaria. A nobleman named Rindfleisch took up the challenge of the enemies of Christ and led a band of true believers through the country, wiping out a hundred and forty Jewish settlements, including the considerable ones of Würzburg and Rothenburg.

Another important charge in those days of widespread epidemics was that the Jews had poisoned the wells to kill the Christians. The outstanding instance of this followed the Black Death of 1348, a terrific plague which carried off from a third to half the population of Europe. The Black Death brought certain significant changes in the life of the survivors: it aided in freeing the serfs, it advanced the movement of population, it caused a number of peasant rebellions and widespread fear and turmoil. It caused, also, the massacre of tens of thousands of Jews on the charge of beginning the epidemic through well-poisoning. The only

evidence of their supposed crime was the assertion that the Jews themselves had not suffered from the plague, which recent examination of the dates on old Jewish tombstones proves to be quite untrue. But when has a mob needed or desired conclusive proof? Helpless in the face of the devastating sickness, the frightened sufferers sought a cause which they could understand; they charged the horror upon the one minority group which was outside both Church and feudal system—the Jews.

Minor charges were constantly being brought forward. The Jews had a distinct odor, it was said—perhaps this was true at a time when cleanliness was not a Christian virtue and saints boasted of the vermin in their garments, while only the Jews maintained the public bath, compulsory as a ritual requirement. It was said also that the Jews suffered from numerous repulsive diseases. They were intimates of the Devil and indulged in sorcery. They were taught in infancy to be thieves, murderers, enemies of the human race.

This tragic period in Jewish life has left a legacy in the form of martyrologies, lists of martyrs for the faith and tales of their deaths. Such a book was the "Valley of Tears," written in Avignon in the sixteenth century. The author tells us: "I have called it the Valley of Tears because it is the proper title for it. Whoever reads it will gasp for breath, his eyes will suffuse with tears, and with hands on his loins he will exclaim: 'How long, O my Lord?' " In this period also the importance of Purim, the Feast of Esther, became magnified, as time after time similar events were repeated. The Jews of some city, threatened by their enemies and spared by some intervention of Pope or Emperor, would institute a special day of thanksgiving known as the Purim of that par-



ticular community. About a dozen of these supplementary festivals are known in different parts of Europe, and still others must have existed for short periods. For centuries Jewish religious life was dominated by the fear of persecution and the glory of martyrdom.

These three forces, the Church, the law, and the mob, often working at cross-purposes, but sometimes in harmony, brought one evil after another upon the little scattered Jewish communities of the Middle Ages. Their legalized status, always in jeopardy, was sometimes denied altogether when the three forces were united against them. We find such a situation in England in 1290; after a century of anti-Jewish preaching, of blood libels and mob attacks, the king finally abrogated their charter and exiled the Jews. For almost four hundred years after that, no Jew might live legally in the British Isles. A century later in 1394 the same union of forces drove them from the small section of France ruled directly by the king.

The greatest of the expulsions came after still another century, in 1492, when the Jews of Spain were offered the choice of baptism or exile. On January 2d of that year the last Moslem stronghold, Granada, fell to the Christians; the demand for national unity could at last be satisfied and Jews and Moors expelled from the peninsula. In addition, Torquemada had been constantly complaining about the influence of the Jews on the New Christians; he had even invented a ritual murder case in which both groups were involved. So on March 31st Ferdinand issued a proclamation of expulsion: "In our land there is a no inconsiderable number of Judaizing and wicked Christians who have deviated from our Holy Catholic Faith; this has been brought



about above all by the intercourse between Jews and Christians. . . . According to reports supplied to us by the Inquisition, there can be no doubt that this intercourse between Jews and Christians, whereby the latter have been led astray and made to believe in their damnable religion, is doing untold harm. . . . We have, therefore, decided to order all Jews of both sexes to leave the confines of our land forever." This charge at least was quite true, if we understand that the Christians mentioned were all former Jews, many of them converted by force or threats.

The story is told that two Jewish officials of the realm, Don Isaac Abarbanel and Abraham Senior, appealed to Ferdinand and Isabella to revoke the edict, pledging a contribution of thirty thousand ducats toward the expenses of the war, and pleading for the Jews as a worthy element in the population of Spain. But Thomas de Torquemada, the Inquisitor General, intervened. "Judas Iscariot once sold the Son of God for thirty pieces," he proclaimed. "Your Majesties think to sell him again for thirty thousand. Here you have him. Sell him, but acquit me of my share in the transaction." With these words he hurled the crucifix on the table and left the room. He had turned the scale.

Marvin Lowenthal tells a typical story of the expulsion in "A World Passed By": "When, in 1492, the time limit set by the decree of expulsion had expired, the Jews of Segovia fled in despair to the home of their dead and the grottos of Los Hoyos. There they sent back a final and vain plea to the authorities. And there, in the little caverns, some submitted to baptism and the remainder were slain. For years after, the slope was known as the Prado Santo—the Holy Field. No doubt because of the baptisms."

This was a vastly greater exile than those from France or England. It involved a community which had been founded before the Christian era, which had produced many of the great scientists and philosophers of the Middle Ages, which had provided both Moslem and Christian monarchs with their physicians and treasurers, which was a large and important section of the Spanish people. Fully 300,000 Jews left Spain in 1492—the last day of grace was July 31st, the anniversary of the destruction of the Temple at Jerusalem—for Italy and Morocco, Turkey and Palestine, every part of the Mediterranean world. Large communities of these Sephardim, or Spanish Jews, still exist in the Levant, speaking a Judeo-Spanish dialect known as Ladino, still touchingly proud of their history and their once glorious sojourn in Spain. Not all of them reached even these precarious refuges; thousands were slain on the way or robbed of the scanty possessions they had been permitted to take with them and sold into slavery. Meanwhile about the same number submitted to the embraces of the Church—which included the Inquisition—for the sake of their children whom they desired to continue to live in the land of their ancestors.

In our own day, after the World War, a group of these Marranos were found in the country districts of Portugal, still observing secretly the tenets of Judaism—in fact, even believing that secrecy was an essential part of the Jewish faith. At first they would not even believe that there were other Jews in foreign lands who dared practice their faith before the world. But after assurance and re-education these forced converts dared to declare themselves as Jews; after more than four hundred years of secrecy and danger they established their little synagogue.

The Church, the mob, and the law had finally united to destroy the greatest and most advanced Jewish community which Christian Europe had inherited from the comparatively tolerant Moslem rule. Spain was united; the Inquisition was dominant; the Jew, the hated and feared minority, had been expelled, it was believed, forever.

## CHAPTER VI

### *The Age of Wandering*

WE ARE ACCUSTOMED to considering the modern age as a great advance over the medieval one. We think of the Renaissance in Italy, the Reformation in Germany, the inventions and discoveries, the opening of trade routes and the beginnings of capitalism as marking a new and a better world. But this is true only from the point of view of the Christian nations of western Europe. Islam, which had had its great civilization in the early Middle Ages, was now thoroughly cowed under the rule of the Ottoman Turks, still a great military nation but no longer a progressive one. As for the Jews, they can hardly have realized that the Middle Ages had passed. The three centuries to follow, from 1500 to 1800, were to them only the age of wandering, the age of the ghetto, a period of combined instability and isolation.

As Josef Kastein says, in his "History and Destiny of the Jews": "The relationship of the Jews to the outside world was, until the eighteenth century, comparatively simple—they had duties but no guaranteed right; they fulfilled economic functions, but formed no part of the social body; they were inhabitants of a country without being natives of it; they were victims of its laws but not citizens; they were human beings but condemned to be the objects on which the instincts of their environment reacted; they were the repre-

sentatives of monotheism and yet were massacred in the name of monotheism."

How could this be? How could the age of greater tolerance, of more personal and less institutional emphasis in religion, of growing knowledge of science and the external world, fail to be progressive in its treatment of the minority group? But let us remember that there already existed a tradition of hatred against the deicides, of contempt for the outcasts. This was a part of the feeling of the time, which only centuries of development could alter; in fact, not until the eighteenth century do we find any noteworthy change in this general attitude. Then we shall see certain specific changes in world conditions, many of which actually affected the Jews for the worse.

Feudalism was gone, and the medieval legal status of the Jews disappeared with the system. Still nominally under the protection of the Emperor, they were now actually at the mercy of the local ruler—prince, bishop, or city corporation. Only at rare intervals did the Emperor display his old interest in them and at such times not always successfully. The economic revolution of that age of discoveries and of new trade routes had brought the Jews serious rivals in every field of economic life. Of old, the craft guilds had driven them out of most handicrafts. Then the merchant guilds followed and closed many types of trading to the sons of Israel. Now the merchants of Venice and Genoa dominated foreign trade; Christian moneylenders competed with Jewish in the money market. The Jews, on their old economic plane, were no longer necessary to society; while at the same time they were not yet allowed to enter other professions and make their position normal. The Council of Basle in 1434 had excluded

Jews from the universities—not that they had ever studied in the medieval universities, which were strictly clerical institutions—but to counteract the danger that the new humanism would attract and benefit the Jews.

The economic accusation of the Jews steadily mounted during this period, even while the religious prejudice retained its old vigor. This was natural, as the middle classes had developed in European society and felt themselves direct competitors of the Jews. Naturally they began to emphasize that the Jews were unfair competitors and dishonest in their dealings. The Jews advertised, employed outside solicitors and thus stole business from the Christians. The Jews undersold their competitors, a violation of the guild rules; they bought stolen goods without inquiring too closely into their origin.

To these complaints was added the old, old charge of usury, harder to press now that Christians also lent money openly, and no longer as secret partners of the Jews. Advertising and underselling, while they were once violations of the trade monopoly fostered by the guilds, no longer strike any of us as dishonest, since they are the approved practice of every successful business today. The same holds of the taking of interest, though the legal limit is now far lower than that of the Middle Ages when the risks were far greater and money much scarcer. That Jews were receivers of stolen goods is true, if individual criminals are meant; surely the Christians have no monopoly on crime. But as a general accusation it is merely another charge brought by prejudice against a universally disliked and suspected people.

The movement known as humanism certainly influenced some sections of society in favor of the Jews. But the hu-



manists were only a few scattered scholars and not public leaders like the Dominican preachers or the semi-military bandits who actually led the mobs. Some of them had studied Hebrew with the rabbis and not only understood Jewish books but even had Jewish friends. Others, while not favoring the Jews personally, were at least milder spirits than the churchmen of earlier days or of Spain in their own time.

In one famous controversy, however, the humanist John Reuchlin defended the Jews directly and won a victory in their behalf. This occurred in 1509 when Johann Pfefferkorn, a butcher converted from Judaism, brought up the old charges against the Talmud with the support of the Dominicans and persuaded Emperor Maximilian to turn over the Jewish books to him that he might expose further Jewish attacks upon Christianity. But the Jews of Frankfort-on-Main boldly protested the authority of this renegade butcher to interpret the Talmud, of which he was utterly ignorant. At their request the Emperor appointed a commission to study the matter, with Reuchlin as the one Hebraist among them.

Reuchlin was no great friend of the Jews in his personal life; but he was a friend of truth and justice, and above all he loved Hebrew literature. Pfefferkorn wrote several slanderous pamphlets, particularly one called "*Der Judenspiegel*" (The Mirror of the Jews). As we might expect, the majority of the commission agreed with his views; Reuchlin was accused of selling his favorable opinions for Jewish gold. For Reuchlin not only praised the Jewish literature highly before the Emperor, but actually recommended the establishment of chairs in Hebrew in the German universities. He replied to his opponents with "*The Mirror of the Eyes*," a

pamphlet just as bitter as any from the pens of the anti-Semites. From that time on the controversy raged between the Dominicans and the humanists. Pfefferkorn was forgotten, and the Talmud saved from the flames. A rare exception in that day when any accusation against the Jews was certain of victory from the beginning of the debate.

The great influence of the century in Germany was that of the Reformation. Except for distracting the attention of the people to other matters, the Reformation worked no direct benefit to the Jews. Calvin did not even allow them to enter his city of Geneva, which he kept strictly Protestant. Martin Luther followed the example of Mohammed long before, beginning as the defender of the Jews, whom he hoped to win to his support, then turning into an accuser when they rejected him as stubbornly as they had resisted the persecuting Church. In his early pamphlet, "That Jesus Christ Was Born a Jew," Luther has this to say: "If we wish to help them, we must act toward them according to the law of Christian and not of papal love." His later attacks were contained in a number of pamphlets, such as the one "Concerning the Jews and Their Lies." Here he goes far beyond the old papal attitude: "The Jews are brutes; their synagogues are pigsties, they ought to be burned, for Moses would do it if he came back to this world. They drag in mire the divine words, they live by evil and plunder, they are wicked beasts that ought to be driven out like mad dogs."

It is easy to believe that the turbulent period of peasant revolts and religious wars that followed included the Jews in the general devastation. When a city was sacked, the Jewish quarter was the first to feel the fury of the conquerors. When the peasants rose to overthrow their rich oppressors they

were not likely to overlook the Jews, who were generally supposed to be the possessors of vast and illegal wealth. However, there were notable exceptions during the 'Thirty Years' War. The Emperor especially held to the old imperial custom of protecting "his" Jews in order to guard such valuable taxable property, expecting to borrow money from them for his war needs. A striking instance of this happened in the great ghetto of Prague. When the Protestants captured the city, they sacked the Jewish quarter; when the Catholics returned, the Emperor stationed guards to protect the Jews who had suffered for their loyalty to the crown. The Jews in turn sought to repay him by their heroic service in defense of the city in the final campaign of the war, almost thirty years later. The danger to the Jews during these many wars and riots came not from organized assault but from the general lawless condition of the country, which gave the bandit ascendancy over the peaceful and law-abiding citizen.

Many books continued to be written about the Jews, most of them direct and brutal attacks. The classic in this field of literature is "*Entdecktes Judenthum*" (Judaism Unmasked), by Johann Eisenmenger, which was published in Frankfort in 1700. This Eisenmenger was a professor of Hebrew in the University of Heidelberg; he had studied Hebrew under Jewish guidance for nineteen years, and certainly had a wide acquaintance with Hebrew literature. He used this knowledge to dig up every passage of an unfavorable tendency, either against Christianity or in itself, and to translate every doubtful expression in an unfavorable manner. The book, as a whole, is a collection of scandals and insinuations, even though it is far more scholarly than its predecessors. It became at once the great arsenal from which less learned anti-

Jewish writers and preachers might draw their material. We may see how the division of central Europe at that time worked against the Jews, for the Emperor had the book suppressed, but the King of Prussia published another edition. Meanwhile, Eisenmenger offered to suppress it himself for a consideration; but the amount the Jews were able to offer him was too small, so the book was published and the poison spread.

As late as the eighteenth century Voltaire, apostle of liberty and sworn enemy of the Church, made an exception in his liberal program to condemn the Jews. He himself states that he had been cheated by a Jew; he certainly defended a lawsuit against a Prussian Jew whom he had tried to cheat in a business deal. The most that he could contribute to the subject was his opinion that the Jews were a selfish race, always greedy for money.

Of all the literature concerning Jews during this period the most influential down to our own day is certainly Shakespeare's "Merchant of Venice." According to Professor Harold R. Walley, of the Ohio State University, there are only six definitely Jewish characters in all the sweep of Elizabethan drama. Every one of these treats the Jew, not with contempt but with horror; the Jew was the monster, the ogre of the old tales, and played the part of a grotesque and inhuman villain. Marlowe's "Jew of Malta," written shortly before, repeated the old medieval slander; its Jewish hero was neither Jew nor human being, but simply a fiend—thief, traitor, and poisoner. But Shakespeare's Shylock is a powerful human character, which has made this comedy the most influential piece of anti-Jewish literature since the book of Matthew. We must remember that neither of these writers probably

ever met a Jew, since the Jews had been exiled from England in 1290 and were not allowed to settle there again until 1650. There must have been a few Spanish converts or Marranos, as we know of a Dr. Lopez, physician to Queen Elizabeth, who was executed in 1594 on the stated charge of attempting to poison the Queen, but in reality because he had the bad taste to intrigue with the Spanish ambassador at a time when suspicion and hatred against Spain ran high in England.

Sir Sidney Lee, a leading English commentator on Shakespeare, suggested that "The Merchant of Venice" was produced two months before this execution and suggested by it; this does not seem unlikely when we remember our playwright was never slow to seize upon any popular topic with "box-office appeal." But the story of the pound of flesh is a very old one, going back to the Middle Ages in Italy; its original form, however, did not mention the Jew, but concerned a conflict between two Christians, who were both condemned by the Pope for risking a human life in their lawsuit.

"The Merchant of Venice," then, deals with a medieval story, and takes advantage of a notorious Jewish execution of that very year. Evidently Shakespeare wrote it as a comedy, with his Jew as the traditional villain and the butt of all the jokes. He even gives the fifth act over to the three pairs of lovers, thus making Shylock a subordinate character. Some modern producers, conceiving the play rather as a tragedy and Shylock as the protagonist, have gone so far as to omit the last act and have undoubtedly reversed the intention of the author. It seems that an Elizabethan audience would certainly have appreciated the gibes against the Jew and the clever, although illegal, manner in which the tables were



turned against him in the trial. The other Jewish characters have nothing specifically Jewish about them, Tubal being merely a foil for Shylock, Jessica a light-headed girl who was ready to steal her father's wealth, become a Christian and run away with her lover.

Shylock, however, is a great tragic figure, whose actions are based on hatred of the Christians and a desire for vengeance upon them for their treatment of himself and his race. Antonio mocks and defies him as a usurer, yet is willing to borrow from him; Christians run off with his daughter and his ducats; they are his public and private enemies. He is, like Macbeth, a figure devised for tragedy, bearing within himself the seeds of his own destruction—in his case revenge, as in the thane ambition. His hatred is clearly expressed and motivated in the opening act:

*"I hate him for he is a Christian:  
But more for that, in low simplicity,  
He lends out money gratis, and brings down  
The rate of usance here with us in Venice."*

Later, we have his great speech of justification; it makes Shylock no longer a stock Jew of comedy, but a human being, the tragic victim of an old injustice. "Hath not a Jew eyes? hath not a Jew hands, organs, dimensions, senses, affections, passions? fed with the same food, hurt with the same weapons, subject to the same diseases, healed by the same means, warmed and cooled by the same winter and summer, as a Christian is? If you prick us, do we not bleed? if you tickle us, do we not laugh? if you poison us, do we not die? and if you wrong us, shall we not revenge?" In the trial scene Shylock, with all his humanity, becomes again a type



of the Old Testament against the New, of justice against mercy, as we see the theme of the play carried logically toward its climax. Undoubtedly there are elements of sympathy for the outlawed Jew in this scene, but these are buried deep in a conventional drama of intrigue, where the wicked Hebrew is overcome by Christian love and legal trickery.

The keynote of this period for the Jews was instability, insecurity. At its beginning they had been driven out of England, France, and Spain; only three important Jewish communities survived in Germany. Throughout the next centuries the wandering tribes were constantly on the move, exiled here, received there; then pushed on or perhaps sent back again to their former homes. The Jews of Spain went largely to Turkey; those from central Europe moved eastward into Poland. The Jewish community there had been founded in the thirteenth century by refugees fleeing from the wrath of the Crusaders; it was augmented a hundred years later after the Black Death, and the riots and massacres which the pestilence brought in its wake; it increased steadily after every riot and massacre in the Holy Roman Empire.

But this influx of Jewish refugees brought with it anti-Judaism. The Jews of Poland were granted a charter by the Polish kings; they desired a merchant class in their country, then composed entirely of reckless nobles and ignorant peasantry. But the Poles were Roman Catholics; the Church insisted on the Jewish badge and other restrictions to keep the Jews apart and to protect the recently converted Poles from their influence. So the Jewish community had a large measure of independence, its own local government, and even a Council of the Four Lands, a general Jewish organization. But they were rigidly held within narrow limits.

Poland was simply a continuance of the Middle Ages, which had long ago disappeared in western Europe. The Jews spoke Yiddish, or Judeo-German, and never became Poles. The greatest tragedy for the Polish Jews, aside from their exclusion, was the outbreak of the Cossacks under Chmielnicki in the year 1648. This was a revolt of the Greek Orthodox Ukrainians against their Polish masters who were Roman Catholics. Unfortunately for the Jews, they were in many cases the agents and rent collectors of the hated Polish nobles. So there is little wonder that the motto of the revolt became: "Down with the Poles and the Jews!" The barbarous Cossacks committed horrors which remind us of the Huns and Mongols. They would hang a priest between a dog and a Jew; they tortured their helpless victims by the thousands, raping the women, hacking to pieces the old and the little children. Vast numbers of Jews were massacred, thousands of others sold into slavery at Constantinople, great communities destroyed, and refugees sent back into central Europe from which their ancestors had been hounded centuries before. The entire tragedy was repeated a few years later in a second revolt. In these two crushing years fully half a million Jews were killed, besides the thousands of others enslaved and driven into exile. The Jews, caught by accident between the Polish masters and the Cossack rebels, were sacrificed by both in the largest and most brutal general massacre of all Jewish history.

In their wanderings, out of Spain, out of Germany, out of Poland, the Jews found new places of refuge. Holland, under the Protestants, proved a haven for many Marranos, for the Dutch also hated and feared the Inquisition. True, they gave the refugees no political rights—only Protestants

might become Dutch burghers; but they granted them a degree of toleration far beyond any other land in the seventeenth century.

From Holland a few began to drift into England, which had so long shut its gates against them. Rabbi Manasseh ben Israel of Amsterdam interviewed Oliver Cromwell in the effort to persuade him that the Jews were desirable subjects; he reminded this Old Testament Covenanter that Israel must be scattered to every part of the earth in order that the Messiah might come. Cromwell listened to both pleas, political and mystical; although he did not issue any official permit, he did allow a small number of Jews to enter England unofficially. Still others braved the sea as pioneers of the New World. Here the Inquisition unrelentingly followed them; the first records of Jews in Mexico and South America are the accounts of autos da fe. But in Dutch territory overseas they had the right of residence, later granted also in some of the French and English colonies. By the end of the eighteenth century there were five Jewish congregations in North America, and about the same number in South America and the West Indies. Always seeking a home, often driven forth after they had won one, the Jews continued to suffer as "the Ishmaels and Hagar of mankind."

We can picture this tragedy most clearly, perhaps, by visiting a single community. The great Judenstadt of Prague in Bohemia was founded in the eleventh century. It was emptied of Jews five different times in the course of history: in 1099 by the Crusaders, in 1389 by a terrific riot, in 1619 when the Protestants captured the city, in 1679 by a fire, and in 1744 by a legal expulsion under the Empress Maria Theresa. In addition there are records of other fires and riots which

spared part of the district, and a threatened expulsion by the Emperor Ferdinand I in 1561, which was averted by pleas and bribes and which gave rise to the Prague Purim, the feast of deliverance of the community.

The Judengasse of Frankfort-on-Main, established in the twelfth century, had three complete destructions: in 1349 after the Black Death, in 1614 by the Fettmilch riots, named after their leader, and in 1711 by a fire. Besides these were the threatened expulsion due to the efforts of Pfefferkorn and minor riots at various times down to 1815. This ghetto lasted as a compulsory place of residence for Jews as late as 1854. As these were the greatest Jewish communities of central Europe, we can easily imagine the uncertainty of life and residence of Jews living in smaller places, at the mercy of the local rulers, and subject always to dangers within and without the little principality which had given them a temporary refuge.

Beside the instability of Jewish life, caused by the succession of massacres and expulsions, there was also a growing isolation caused by the growth of the ghetto itself. There had been special Jewish sections of the various cities where Jews lived throughout the Middle Ages. Often they were set aside as a favor to the Jews that they might live near their synagogue and might have somewhat greater opportunity for collective self-defense. Such a Jewish district was assigned by the Bishop of Speyer in 1084, the first of which we have record, with its own walls, synagogue, and cemetery. Plainly this was favorable to the Jews because various other privileges are mentioned, especially that they might shelter Jews from other cities in their own homes without paying the usual tax. The Church made various regulations restricting

Jews from living among Christians; finally in 1434 a general rule was laid down by the Council of Basle: "That too great converse with them may be avoided, they shall be compelled to live in certain places in the cities and towns, separated from the dwelling places of the Christians and as far from the churches as possible."

From that time, the Jewish quarter was enforced by law; the custom spread from one land to another. The Jewish section in Venice, from which the word "ghetto" comes, was set aside in 1516, when the Jews were allowed to return after a brief expulsion. They were then assigned a small island where the old gun-factory (called "ghetto," or foundry) had formerly stood. Ghettos were soon after established in Rome, Frankfort, Prague, Vienna and every town where Jews were permitted to live. The ghetto was limited in size and could not be increased by the purchase of additional land. It was surrounded by a wall with gates which might be locked from the outside. These gates were closed at night, on Sundays and on Christian holidays. No Jew might spend the night outside the ghetto walls. That meant that the two communities side by side could never intermingle and become one. The Christians of Rome were as much protected from the influence of the Jews as were those of Nuremberg, which had expelled all its Jews in 1499, and merely allowed them to enter the city as a special concession to trade at the fairs.

The ghetto was always overcrowded, with narrow streets and high narrow houses, overtopping even the rest of the town. It was usually located in the least desirable part of town, as in Rome, where the ghetto lay close to the Tiber, received the annual overflow, and was a breeder of pestilence. The Jew could never escape from the influence of the ghetto,



because when he ventured outside he was forced to wear the Jewish badge. Citizens would shun him, ruffians might abuse him; his only refuge was the narrow ghetto with its walls which shut out sunlight and insults alike.

In some cities the number of Jews was not limited, so more and more dwellers were crowded into the ghetto, which built its houses higher and higher, and filled them more completely. In others the number of families was prescribed by law, and no Jew might move into the ghetto until a family already there had moved away. Following this, another law grew up in parts of Germany, that only a certain number of Jewish marriages might take place in a year, a peculiar hardship on a people which had always advocated early marriage. By this means the number of Jews was kept stable. Only the eldest son, in most cases, might marry at all; and he would have to wait until his name occurred in the long waiting list. The Jewish community of the ghetto was still responsible to the overlord for its taxes; but most of the other rights had disappeared one by one. The petty and detailed regulation of the lives of these circumscribed Jews increased from year to year.

We must remember that this age of the ghetto had not formally abolished any of the medieval laws; most of them continued with greater or less force. The Jewish badge was still required; blood accusations and Host accusations were still made from time to time, particularly in Poland, but in other sections as well. Jews were more than ever forced to attend Christian sermons. The Talmud was still under suspicion; it was sometimes condemned and publicly burned as in the thirteenth century. Riots still broke out, as we have seen at Frankfort and Prague, and particularly in the un-



speaking excesses of the Cossacks. Petty annoyances and graver outrages still went on. No Jew might enter a strange city without reporting to the police and paying a tax. In fact, no Jew might do anything whatever without paying a tax or a bribe—frequently both. There were residence taxes, poll taxes, occupation taxes, the more so as most residences and most occupations were closed to them.

This life of instability and isolation brought the Jews to the lowest point of their long and tragic history. The only life fostered in the ghetto was intensely and narrowly Jewish, no matter what broad or inspiring movements were occurring in the world outside. In the great days of Moslem Spain the Jews had produced mathematicians, physicians, and philosophers of importance, among them Maimonides, whose ideas influenced profoundly St. Thomas Aquinas, the official philosopher of Catholicism. No such man could be the product of the ghetto; the only parallel is Spinoza, who voluntarily left Jewish life and was excommunicated from the synagogue. Within the ghetto, in its physical poverty, its narrowness, its isolation, flourished only Talmudic studies, the practical application of Jewish law to the needs of the time; and mysticism, the philosophy of flight from the surrounding sorrows. It is no wonder that most of the false Messiahs of Jewish history appeared in this late period, this time when the world was too hard for the Jew and he was forced to look for refuge to a rescuer from above the stars.

The eighteenth century, the Age of Enlightenment, seems a little easier to us in retrospect; but it must have been hard enough for those who lived through it. It was a period of absolute monarchs; so-called benevolent paternalism was the rule of the day. Hence the monarchs interfered with the

pettiest concerns of the Jews, often meddling in affairs that formerly had been left to their own control. At the same time they sometimes admitted more of them to the land, or treated them somewhat more humanely.

Frederick the Great of Prussia had the definite policy of allowing only a very few rich Jews in his country; they would benefit the nation by their business enterprise, he decided, and their taxes would be acceptable; but the poor were carefully excluded. Yet it was in the Berlin of Frederick the Great that Moses Mendelssohn established contacts with Christian thinkers, became the trusted friend of Lessing, and inspired that author's plea for tolerance, "Nathan the Wise." Joseph II of Austria issued in 1782 an Edict of Tolerance, which ended the worst abuses for the time being in his realm, put an end to the Jewish badge and the body tax, permitted Jews to attend schools and universities, but did not change the restrictions laid on residence and occupation. It was an advance in that day when Jews generally had no rights of any kind, but its theory was that they must remain a secondary class of citizens in the Christian state, and that the Jewish problem could be abolished only by abolishing the Jews.

The Jews came to the very threshold of the nineteenth century with most of the medieval restrictions still in force, with many new and degrading requirements of later times, with no rights which anybody had to respect. The traditional attitude of Church, State, and mob, while becoming milder through the very spirit of the times, was still in force against the Jew; he still remained the pariah of modern Europe.

## CHAPTER VII

### *Anti-Semitism in the Nineteenth Century*

BY THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY the feudal idea of a class society was fading; in the nineteenth it had disappeared from the more advanced nations of the world. Citizenship was no longer based on membership in a certain class but on residence in a particular country. In an absolute monarchy that meant that all were alike subjects of the king; in a democracy it implied that all were alike citizens of the nation. But the prejudice against the Jew still lingered. The first form of the new national life was the Christian state, which still excluded him. The rulers and people both felt that the State and Church formed a single body, that only Christians might be full members of the State, that the Jews were merely a tolerated minority, and could never be any more so long as they obstinately refused to become Christians. In a sense, it was merely the religious nationalism of Ferdinand and Isabella expressed in more modern language.

This was the chief argument against Moses Mendelssohn when he wrote in favor of emancipation for the Jews. His own opinion in his essay called "Jerusalem" was that the State could control only the actions of men, not their minds. His good friend Lessing followed with his widely influential drama, "Nathan the Wise," pleading for tolerance. Another friend, Christian Wilhelm von Böhmer, in

1781 wrote a pamphlet, "Concerning the Improvement of the Civic Condition of the Jews." Mirabeau, the French statesman of the early days of the Revolution, took a firm stand in the same direction. In England a bill was actually passed in 1753 permitting Jews to become naturalized like any other foreigners, but such a public clamor arose that the law was at once repealed. Lives and property were to be protected for all men, but England was not yet ready for the idea that Jews might be citizens of a Christian country with an established Church.

The first actual enfranchising of Jews as citizens came, not in any of the countries of the Old World, but in the New World of America. The United States had only 2,500 Jews at the time of the Revolution among its 3,000,000 people. The new nation included a large number of conflicting Christian denominations, of which the two largest were the Church of England and the Congregationalists, each dominating several states. In addition, there were many minor sects. Five of the thirteen colonies had admitted Jews as residents though not always as citizens: New York, Rhode Island, Pennsylvania, South Carolina, and Georgia. So in the Constitutional Convention of 1787 the matter of religion was compromised, like many other matters, by declaring the new nation a secular, and not a Christian, state. In Article VI, section 3, the founders stated: "No religious test shall ever be required as a qualification to any office or public trust under the United States." The first amendment to the Constitution adds: "Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof."

Only four years afterward this same theory of the secular

state was adopted by France of the Revolution when, on September 27, 1791, the Jews of that country were declared full citizens. At that time the few exclusive Sephardim (Spanish refugees) in southern France had already been enfranchised; but the deputies of Alsace had objected to the same status for the numerous Jews of their district. But a revolutionary government, proclaiming Liberty, Equality, and Fraternity to all the world, could not hesitate longer to bestow at least a portion of these blessings on its own people.

Because of French influence and the advance of the Revolutionary armies, the idea of emancipation spread rapidly; the practice of it followed more slowly. Holland, which had long practiced tolerance, gave the Jews civil equality in 1796 and never after rescinded the law. Many ghettos were abolished in Italy and Germany, only to be restored in 1815, after the downfall of Napoleon and the liberalizing French influence. Even Spain abolished the Inquisition.

It must not be thought that Napoleon was by any means a philo-Semite. As a member of a minority group himself, a Corsican, he may have been a little sensitive on the point and inclined to be more sympathetic toward this other and far more downtrodden people. Yet his interest in the Jews may have been due to his desire for a united France; he desired to see the Jews become Frenchmen in every respect in order to deserve the rights which had lately been granted to them. Following this policy, he called an Assembly of Jewish Notables in 1806. This body made him every promise he demanded except the final one, which perhaps he desired the most, that they would cease to be Jews!

He asked these representatives twelve leading questions in very adroit terms, seeking to win the confidence of these new



citizens, who were just as eager to retain their newly won rights and to keep the friendship of the Emperor. They declared intermarriages of Jews and Christians legal if performed by a civil officer; that the Jews no longer constituted a nation, but were Frenchmen in every respect; that they would gladly give up the autonomy of the Jewish communities to become equal citizens. But all this did not prevent Napoleon from one anti-Jewish edict, the "infamous decrees" of 1808, which dealt with the economic life of the Jews. This declared that every Jew had to have a special license to engage in business; no Jew might move from one department to another unless he desired to enter agriculture.

Napoleon typified liberalism to the Jews, though, after all, his was a very qualified liberalism. But when Napoleon fell in 1815, the forces which took his place were those of black reaction. They restored every ancient law which he had destroyed, whether good or evil. Under their rule the ghetto walls rose again; the gates were locked once more. Special Jewish laws, special Jewish taxes, riots, and persecutions were again the order of the day. The final emancipation came bit by bit during the nineteenth century, not because the Jews had become popular, but because the secular state in time prevailed.

England followed tolerance by freedom in 1858, Italy in 1859, Austria in 1867, Germany and the city of Rome in 1870. The secular state had won in western Europe; every individual who lived in such a state was a citizen in his own right. Minority groups were no longer recognized; they were calmly asked to disappear in the new equality and similarity of the nation. So the concessions to the Jews, while immensely valuable, did not mean that hatred and suspicion



had actually disappeared. They merely took a new form, the race theory which is known today as anti-Semitism.

Before considering this new phase, however, we may turn aside to those many countries which were still living under a medieval régime, especially the vast Russian Empire, which during the nineteenth century held half the Jews of the entire world. In 1840 occurred a ritual murder trial of more than ordinary importance in Damascus, where a group of Jews were charged with killing a French priest. The changed conditions of the times appear when we note the outcome. It is an old, old story but with a new ending. A protest arose from Jews the world over; several Jewish leaders journeyed to Damascus with official letters; the Jews who remained alive after the inhuman treatment they had received in prison were finally released. We know of similar trials in earlier days; but imagine Jews daring to protest against them, and imagine, if you can, the release of suspected prisoners because of such a Jewish protest! Another famous case occurred in 1858 to impress the world that Jews were still far from free even in an enlightened age. A Jewish child named Mortara had been secretly baptized by his nurse; this happened in the Papal dominion in Italy; in spite of Jewish and Christian protests, the Pope actually ordered the child taken from its parents that he might be brought up a Christian.

But the real stronghold of autocracy and reaction may be found in the Russia of the Tsars. "Holy Russia" had always been closed to Jews until in the course of conquests it acquired territory where Jews already lived: White Russia in 1769 and Poland in 1772 and 1795. Until that time the Russian policy was that of the Empress Elizabeth, who, when asked to allow Jewish immigration for commercial reasons,

declared: "From the enemies of Christ I do not desire any gain or profit." The vast Jewish community of Poland was still largely self-governing at that time; the Jews were kept apart from the rest of the population and ground down by restrictions exactly as in the Middle Ages. Many of them lived in villages, where they had been forced to settle by the Poles. The whole western section of Russia now had a huge Jewish population; in consequence anti-Judaism became the official policy of the autocracy.

The reign of Catherine the Great is responsible for two precedents in this policy. The first was the Pale of Settlement, some fourteen provinces in which Jews were allowed to live, except for the chief military cities; they were then forbidden the rest of the vast empire. The second was the phrase, "except the Jews," which became a customary term in all Russian laws, declaring at once the newcomers' exceptional and lower status. Soon attention was drawn to the village Jews, largely innkeepers and liquor sellers, and attempts were steadily made to drive them back into the cities from which they had formerly been expelled by the Poles.

Anti-Judaism in Russia varied with the Tsar on the throne. It was always present; sometimes it expressed itself in threats to suppress and destroy the Jews; on other occasions, in inducements to them to leave Judaism and to join the Orthodox Church. For the century and a half from the partition of Poland to the Russian Revolution, official policy, always anti-Jewish, alternated between force and bribery. The official report of Derzhavin in 1800 on the Jews declared them a menace, both as economic parasites and as a clannish element, separate from the Russian faith. His remedy was to

destroy the Jewish merchants and the system of Jewish education, together with the self-governing community organization; that is, to deprive the Jews of any object in living.

Alexander I (1801–1825) was a liberal at the beginning of his reign and tried milder methods to lure the Jews from their faith. But after Waterloo, when he became a leader of reaction, he drove the Jews from the villages of White Russia and forced every Jew living within fifty versts of the frontier to move into the Pale of Settlement. Nicholas I (1825–1855) was the great tyrant of modern times, the Russian Pharaoh. His reign was blackened by the trials and tortures of the Jews of his realm; there were ritual murder trials, held with his approval; further restrictions were placed on residence with further impoverishment as a result. Worst of all, every Jewish community had to supply a certain number of recruits for military service, to serve for twenty-five years under the unspeakable conditions of the Russian army. Beside its military purpose, this provision had the object of forcing the recruits into the Church. As the eighteen-year-old recruits were soon found too staunch in their ancestral faith to yield to any pressure, no matter how brutal, the government demanded twelve-year-old boys, often seizing those who were even younger, tearing them from the arms of their mothers for thirty or more years of separation and of slow torture. Every variety of inhuman pressure was exerted to make Christians of these young martyrs, sometimes effectively, especially with the younger and weaker of these unhappy children. In order to supply the quota, the Jews themselves furnished "catchers," who undertook this repulsive work, acting as traitors to their own people and kid-

napers in the community. Among the many cruel measures of anti-Judaism through the ages, this stands unique for cold-blooded cruelty, when we consider not only the sufferings of the parents and the boys themselves, but the loneliness of those homeless souls who tried to return to their own after their long and enforced separations.

Alexander II (1855–1881) was a milder personality, which merely meant that he repealed the worst of these restrictions, not that he really changed the official policy. Then came Alexander III (1881–1894), who turned the clock back to repression again. His father having been murdered by revolutionists, he exerted every effort of a despot to repress all liberal elements and to divert the dissatisfaction of the oppressed to the Jews, who from that day were the chosen scapegoats of the autocracy. The first year of his reign was accompanied by terrible pogroms—massacres actually organized and authorized by the government—in Odessa, Elisavetgrad and elsewhere. These were followed in 1882 by the “May Laws,” passed as a temporary measure, but destined to remain in force until 1914. The Jews were forbidden to live in villages, except as farmers. Mortgages could not be held by Jews, and those already in force were canceled. The Jews were not allowed to keep open their places of business upon a Sunday, a measure which worked great hardship to pious people, since they refused to give up their own traditional Sabbath. The moving factor in Russian life became Pobyedonostsev, the Procurator of the Holy Synod, head of the Orthodox Church under the Tsar. His famous dictum on solving the Jewish problem was that one-third of the Jews should be wiped out, one-third emigrate, and one-third be converted to Christianity. Obviously, this would have solved

the problem pleasantly enough for all concerned except the Jews themselves; the first two measures were actually carried out, but never the third.

At this time began the great Jewish emigration, one of the notable mass movements of populations in all history. From 1880 to 1930, says Dr. Ruppin, 4,000,000 Jews migrated from one country to another. Of this number, 2,250,000 came from Russia; 1,000,000 from Austria-Hungary, and 250,000 from Rumania, or seven-eighths of the total from these three neighboring Jewish populations. They scattered over all the world; 500,000 to western Europe; 2,500,000 to the United States; 400,000 to Central and South America; 120,000 to Palestine. Poverty helped to drive many from their native lands; but the primary force of this migration was furnished by the Russian autocracy, which deliberately made Russia an unlivable country for the Jew.

Nicholas II (1894-1917), the last of the Tsars, followed this same policy automatically. He was confronted by a rising wave of liberalism, ranging from the demand for a Duma to assassination. His policy was a double one, exile to Siberia for known liberals and diverting the restless masses by turning them against the Jews as the true source of their many wrongs. Among the many restrictions against the Jews the one placed on their education became especially pronounced. Their "quota" was only ten per cent of the student body of any high school in the Pale, no matter how many were eligible and eager to enter; only five per cent outside of the Pale, and three per cent of the students in the universities at Moscow and Petrograd. Of the 650 laws which dealt with the Jews by the end of the Tsarist régime, those concerning education



were among the most serious, coming only after the restrictions on residence and occupations.

The period of the losing war against Japan was one of unrest and abortive attempts at revolution; naturally, it was also one of pogroms, the organized movement of the government itself to divert this spirit of rebellion against the Jews. The ministry and the Orthodox Church organized the Black Hundreds, bands of ruffians to carry out their bloody work. The "Protocols of the Elders of Zion" were published with their accusation of a Jewish world conspiracy. The Jews were charged with exploiting the peasants, a charge which was certainly true of some Jewish peddlers and petty merchants, themselves almost as poor as the peasants with whom they dealt, but a charge that came with poor grace from an autocracy that lived on the very blood and sweat of this same peasantry.

In Easter Week of 1903 a pogrom was ordered in Kishinev, where for three days the mobs plundered and murdered under the very eyes of the police, withdrawing from their ghastly work the moment they received their instructions. In these three days some fifty Jews were killed, six hundred injured, and the entire Jewish district laid waste. Bialik, the Hebrew poet, lamented the dead in his undying poem, "The City of Slaughter":

*"Come, follow me into the dreadful town,  
And with thine own eyes see,  
And with thine own hands feel  
On hedge and post, on gate and wall,  
On city pavements, and from all the boards  
The black, hardened blood, the very marrow*



*That from thy brethren's hands and necks did gush.  
And wander then among the ruins  
Through broken walls and crooked doors,  
Past shattered stoves, and half burnt bricks,  
Where yesternight the fire and axe and iron  
Upon this bloody revel a wild-dance played."*

The Kishinev pogrom aroused world-wide sympathy and horror. Statesmen and churchmen in every leading nation expressed their abhorrence for this brutality and official lawlessness. A petition signed by 12,500 Americans, including many of great prominence, was sent by President Theodore Roosevelt to the Tsar as a gesture of public sentiment. But the pogroms went on. In 1905 hundreds were murdered throughout Russia, while the dozens of disasters in other cities have almost been forgotten in the general horror.

The anti-Jewish movement came to a climax in a final ritual murder trial in the city of Kiev in 1911. It will be instructive to go into this Beilis case a little more in detail, as it has been recently described by Alexander B. Tager in his book, "The Decay of Czarism." Tager uses the original documents connected with the trial, now made public by the Soviet government, in order to show the entire proceeding as a symptom of the decay of the autocracy. In March, 1911, a young boy named Andrei Yustshinsky was found murdered near Kiev. The police investigated and fixed the guilt on a neighboring woman, Vera Cheberiak, and the gang of thieves with whom she associated. But the government seized upon the case as an opportunity for anti-Jewish propaganda. The Kiev public prosecutor was instructed by the minister of

justice, with the knowledge of the Tsar, to make a ritual murder case out of the sordid crime.

Almost by accident, the choice fell on Mendel Beilis, a bookkeeper in a neighboring brickyard, and he was arrested in July, four months after the murder. As Tager remarks: "He was kept in prison for a period of more than two years preceding the trial, though the authorities knew absolutely that he was not guilty. He was kept in confinement for the sole purpose of arranging a ritual murder trial, in order to please the Russian pogrom instigators masked as patriots and monarchists." The trial itself, in the fall of 1913, was a series of fiascos. The Russian government made it a definite attack on Jewry as a whole. The Cheberiak gang gave evidence against Beilis, thereby covering over their own guilt and even buying the protection of the police. "Expert" opinions were introduced by anti-Semitic priests that the Jews committed murder for ritual purposes. But the jury of simple Russian peasants were not deceived by this evidence nor intimidated by the influence of the autocracy; they actually acquitted Beilis and were applauded by every party in Russia except those most reactionary groups which had engineered the trial itself. Poor Beilis left Russia, a broken man, and died in the United States in 1934. His trial was a symbol of the dying autocracy, and he the scapegoat, suffering for the sin of being a Jew.

Rumania, under the influence of Russia in political matters, followed her lead also in the treatment of the Jews. Here also anti-Judaism was official and followed the medieval pattern. As Rumania gradually won her independence from the Turks, she also began to apply restrictions to her Jews, culminating in 1867 with blood libels, expulsions from the

villages, and the usual massacres. In 1878 the Council of Berlin granted Rumania her independence on the condition that she would treat all minorities as full citizens; but this was never carried out. Impossible conditions were attached to naturalization, so that Rumania had the contradictory situation for a modern state of several hundred thousands of natives who were not citizens. Jews were limited in attendance at universities, kept out of government service and largely from the professions. Mob violence continued; Rumania remained a miniature Russia up to the World War, carrying on its anti-Jewish policy afterward when Russia had reversed hers. The rising nationalism of the country, which resented a foreign group within its borders, was matched by the rising middle class which feared Jewish competition.

Meanwhile Poland developed a new technique for ruining the Jews. Anti-Judaism in Russia and Rumania was largely official, coming from above. In Poland it came from the mass of the people. There was an old tradition of Jew-baiting in this Roman Catholic country. In the nineteenth century there was also economic competition, for the Poles for the first time developed a middle class, which competed directly with the Jews in business and the professions. Thus lacking the power to make anti-Jewish laws, the Poles devised the boycott against the Jews. The slogan of the Polish National Party was "For Poland and Catholicism." The Russian government, the Orthodox Church and the Jews were its foes. In 1909 the word went forth: "Do not buy from Jews." Three years later this movement was intensified when the Jews refused to vote for an anti-Semite in the elections and threw their votes to a Socialist candidate for the Duma,

defeating the Polish Nationalist. The Nationalist movement in Poland by this economic method succeeded in ruining thousands of small Jewish business men and adding to the misery already caused by the Russian government.

We turn now to the latest and today the dominant type of movement against the Jews: the race theory, or "anti-Semitism." This is a product of the modern secular state, just as ritual murder was a result of the medieval Church's attitude or pogroms of Russian autocracy. The Jew became a citizen of the nation in western Europe and America, but the old prejudice against the minority group, against the people who were different, had by no means disappeared. It merely assumed a new form.

Religious prejudice went out of fashion in the nineteenth century; but national and racial antagonisms took its place. This approach arose from the new ideal of the State as the supreme body, in which the individual was merely a cell, one unit in the great totality. Hegel developed this conception of the State, which reached its logical extreme in the overwhelming demands for unity and subservience in fascism. The nineteenth-century State was not yet fascist, but it was well on the way. One logical result was the demand that no minority should uphold its own ideals or keep its own separate existence within the nation; all must be gladly yielded to the supreme ideal, the State. This meant assimilation for the Jew; the minority must disappear as a separate group. Classes were gone in society; all individuals must be not merely subjects of the State, but similar and equal subjects.

But the Jews did not disappear. Many were willing to do so in their new-found patriotism; they enthusiastically became baptized, intermarried with Christians, showed themselves

devoted Germans, French or English. Far greater numbers eagerly adopted the language, culture, and national patriotism, but preferred to remain Jews in religion, marrying among Jews and carrying on as a church or religious community. In eastern Europe the Jews had always constituted a national group as in the west during the Middle Ages; now the national aspect was almost lost among the emancipated Jewish groups. But none of these concessions was an actual cure for prejudice, any more than baptism had been in Spain, when it merely meant an exchange from a persecuting Church to a suspicious and hostile Inquisition. Those Jews who retained their religion still remained a minority, even though on a narrower basis. Those Jews who attempted to complete their assimilation were recognized and resented as Jews; for the old prejudice was still dominant in the popular mind. The new demands of the State simply turned bias from a religious obligation to a patriotic duty.

So the new theory became that the Jews were unassimilable. From a demand for assimilation, loss of Jewish identity, it turned boldly into a challenge against such assimilation and a demand that the Jews should once again be isolated. The race theory came to the fore. The theory was first developed by Count Arthur de Gobineau in his book, "The Inequality of Human Races," in 1854. He proves—to his own satisfaction at least—that there is "an immense superiority of the white peoples in the whole field of the intellect." He establishes that all great civilizations have been the work of white races, or at least of yellow or black races under white influence. And he concludes by subdividing the white race itself: "There is no true civilization among the European peoples, where the Aryan branch is not predominant."



If the races of mankind are fixed forever and can be designated as higher and lower, can the same be said of the various subdivisions of the white race, or are they all so mixed in blood, so intermingled with one another, that this is impossible? At once propagandists sprang up to prove the purity of the Jewish race; that it is a lower variety of white stock than the Aryan, and that it must under no circumstances be allowed to pollute the blood stream of the Aryan race. This step was speedily taken and supported from various points of view. The Jews were held to be Semites; world history was reread as a struggle between the superior Aryan and the inferior Semite. True, these had originally been used as names for groups of languages. There is no proof that there ever was either an Aryan or a Semitic race; but the theory was one which suited prejudices and could easily be justified.

In France, Drumont wrote "*La France Juive*" (Jewish France); in Germany, Marr produced "*The Victory of Judaism over Germanism*." Mousseaux attacked the Talmud as anti-social. Max Stirner developed the idea that the Jews have never passed the primitive stage of the soul (which he calls the "Negro stage"). Dühring attacked the Semitic conception of God and ethics, which he considers inferior to Germanic ideals. He goes so far as to reverse the original argument: Judaism had been attacked for centuries as anti-Christian; but now Christianity is assailed as being a Jewish creed. Nietzsche considered Judaism and Christianity alike a "slave morality," contrasted with the "master morality" of the conquering Aryan—the Roman and the Teuton.

There are many variations to the race theory as it was applied to the Jews. One odd slant is that of Burton Hen-

drick, who tried to prove that the Sephardic and German Jews were Caucasians, and hence desirable; while the Russian and Polish Jews were of Tartar blood and therefore a lower race. Of course, his facts are not correct; the Tartar admixture among the Russian Jews, due to the proselytism of the Chazars in the ninth century, is very small indeed. Neither has it ever been proved that the Tartars are a lower race than any other. But this last point need not be proved, as it rested on prejudgments too deep for argument.

The standard form of the race argument is that advanced by Houston Stewart Chamberlain, an Englishman who became a naturalized German, in his huge work, "The Foundations of the Nineteenth Century," originally published in German in 1899. Chamberlain holds firmly to the essential differences of races; to him the highest race is the Teuton, while the great menace to civilization is the Jew. "Out of the midst of chaos towers, like a sharply defined rock amid the formless ocean, one single people, a numerically insignificant people—the Jews. This one race has established as its guiding principle the unity of the blood; it alone possesses, therefore, physiognomy and character." "The peculiar mental characteristic of the Jews, their lack of imagination, brought about by the tyrannical predominance of the will, has led them into a strange abstract materialism." It is "our right and duty to look upon the Jew in our midst as a peculiar and, in fact, alien element. . . . Is it possible to read the daily papers without becoming acquainted with Jewish ways of thinking, Jewish taste, Jewish morals, Jewish aims? . . . If the Jewish influence were to gain the upper hand in Europe in the intellectual and cultural sphere, we should have one more example of negative, destructive power."

Werner Sombart, the German economist, applies the same theory in his "The Jews and Economic Life." He blames them for the origin of modern capitalism, and tries to show that the Jewish religion influences its votaries toward materialism and the striving for wealth. Others attack the Jews as revolutionaries, reminding us that Karl Marx was born of Jewish parents, that Judaism is a subversive element in Western culture. A common idea, gleaned from Chamberlain, is the overweening influence of Jews through capitalism, politics, and the press.

In other words, modern anti-Semitism, beginning from the race theory, blames the Jews for Christianity and for being the foes of religion; for capitalism and revolution; for being a people apart and for the "Judaizing" of society. It remained only for the Protocols, coming out of Russia in 1905, to establish a Jewish conspiracy to overthrow the gentile nations and rule the world themselves, thus making the list of possible charges complete. Anti-Semitism embraces every possible accusation, from personal dishonesty to unswerving heroism in the destruction of society; from the eternal separatism of the Jewish race to a perverse attempt to assimilate with the nations in order to infect them with the Jewish spirit.

Following this theory of anti-Semitism, and along with it, went the development of political parties to express it. These parties were ordinarily reactionary, leagued with the nobility, the monarchy, the military caste, often with the Catholic Church. The Jews were thus forced into the liberal parties, which alone defended them, wholly or in part. In France the Jews were blamed for the loss of the Franco-Prussian War, just as later they were to be accused in Russia for the loss

of the Japanese War and in Germany of the World War. In all these cases, the national disaster was simply charged to the minority group; as Heine said, "in every case the Jew is beaten."

In Germany after 1870 the military victory and organization of the German Empire led to anti-Semitism through the different process of exaggerated nationalism. Anti-Semitic parties were founded in Germany and Austria in 1879. The prominent German leader of this Christian Socialist Party was Adolf Stöcker, the court chaplain, with the tacit approval of Bismarck, always ready to combat liberalism. A giant petition was presented in Prussia in 1881, with 250,000 signatures, prepared by the anti-Semitic party and urging restrictions against the Jews. In Austria the chief leader was Karl Lueger, burgomaster of Vienna. The results of such agitations are obvious. Discriminatory laws, ritual murder charges, mob violence were bound to follow. The worst of these was the ritual murder accusation in the little Hungarian town of Tisza Eszlar in 1882, when fifteen Jews were charged with killing a little Christian girl; only a world-wide movement succeeded in disproving the charges and obtaining their acquittal. From Rumania to France, anti-Semitism grew during the period from 1870 to the World War.

Beside political life, the second hotbed of anti-Semitism was the universities. The Jews, as an ambitious middle-class element, were represented in the universities and in the professions to which these led in disproportionate number. The growing competition of middle-class groups in the various countries and the growing congestion of the professions led to a great antagonism among the university students. A

prime anti-Semitic movement during the nineteenth century was that for the *numerus clausus*, the limited quota, of Jews in educational institutions; when this won in a particular country, it was succeeded by a cry for the *numerus nullus*, or quota of zero. Jewish professors were occasionally insulted or even attacked in the university buildings. Jewish students were sometimes mobbed, as in the University of Vienna in 1933, when both men and women were thrown downstairs, hurled out of windows, attacked and seriously injured. Similar student riots have occurred in Warsaw, in Bucharest, in Budapest, and throughout the area of intense anti-Semitism. In some cases Jewish medical students were barred from the dissecting rooms unless they could provide Jewish corpses on which to work. Every device, serious or petty, legal or violent, was utilized against the Jews.

It remained for France to furnish the most notorious case of anti-Semitism, when Captain Alfred Dreyfus was condemned in 1894 on the charge of selling military secrets to Germany and was sent to Devil's Island. Altogether this case lasted for twelve years. In 1896 a new chief of police found Dreyfus innocent; the real culprits were discovered to be two aristocrats, who had succeeded in shifting their punishment to the Jew's shoulders. The world-famous writer, Emile Zola, took up the cause of Dreyfus; one of the criminals confessed and committed suicide; the other fled to England. In 1900 Dreyfus was tried again, condemned and pardoned. It was not until 1906 that he was finally acquitted and restored to his former military rank. The Dreyfus trial had two important results. One was the identification in France of anti-Semitism with the military, royalist, clerical party, while the friends of the Republic were forced to defend the Jews. One



attempt at insurrection was made, accompanied by many riots. In reply, the government disestablished the Catholic Church in France to reduce the power of its enemies. The influence of the Dreyfus case on French politics lasted, in fact, until the outbreak of the World War.

The Dreyfus case was also responsible for the founding of the Zionist movement by Theodor Herzl, a Viennese journalist who was reporting the trial for his newspaper; he was led by this striking miscarriage of justice in even Republican France to conclude that anti-Semitism was universal, and that the only hope for the Jews was to found a Jewish state in Palestine.

This picture carries us as far as the World War, which began a new period in history. The war meant a new revival of Jewish persecution in its most horrible and wholesale form. Much of the suffering of Jews was unavoidable, as the broad zone across eastern Europe, from Lithuania to the Black Sea, where half the Jews in the world lived, was the scene of active warfare, with invasions first by one side, then by the other. An indescribable amount of misery was added, however, by the action of the various commanders, especially the Russians. They sometimes acted as though they were actually fighting the Jewish subjects of the Tsar rather than the Germans. They evacuated many thousands of Jewish civilians, sending them far back from the war zone to distant sections of Russia because, suspicious of their Yiddish speech (which is partly German), and conscious of their own brutal conduct toward the Jews, they considered these helpless civilians to be spies and traitors. The inhumanity of these enforced deportations was worse, if possible, than the victims' undeserved exile. Thousands tramped the roads until

the survivors arrived at a temporary destination. Other thousands, locked in boxcars, underwent equal sufferings and equal losses through starvation and pestilence. The crowning insult to their loyalty was the taking of hostages by their own armies from those who were left—to insure, it was said, the good behavior of the Jewish population. Nobody knows how many of these hostages or other innocent Jews were shot as spies by one army or the other.

The Jewish situation became even worse with the end of the war, when revolution and civil war dominated the Ukraine. The Poles, the Communists, the irregular armies of Denikin and, worst of all, of Petlura, not only fought one another, but massacred whole communities of Jews. This was especially the case with the Whites; they knew the Communists had removed all anti-Jewish restrictions, so while they carried out their traditional Jew-hatred, they had the added satisfaction of slaughtering Communist sympathizers. From December 1918 to April 1921 over a thousand pogroms were carried out, with at least a hundred thousand victims; it is impossible to do more than guess at the actual figures. If we add the wounded and those starved because of these campaigns, we find another major tragedy of Jewish life, comparable to the massacres in the same blood-stained region in 1648. A unique aftermath of these pogroms was the murder of Simon Petlura in Paris in 1926 by Shalom Schwartzbart, a Jewish war veteran whose entire family had been killed in the Ukraine years before. The trial of Schwartzbart in Paris, which resulted in his acquittal, was really a trial of anti-Semitism and the pogrom spirit.

Meanwhile a Communist Russia had removed all the Jewish restrictions of the Tsarist régime. The Jews of Russia

have had other difficulties, first in adjusting themselves to a new economic system, then through the official suppression of religion and religious education. But that is not anti-Semitism. Anti-Semitism today is against the law in Russia, the land where it saw its ripest development; even minor outbreaks of prejudice against the Jew are sternly punished as counter-revolution.

After the war, persecution of the Jews went on in other east-European countries. The new nationalism gave every nation an incentive to suppress its minority groups; everywhere the Jews constituted such a minority. Czechoslovakia alone regarded the Jews as real members of the state. Legal protection by the various treaties framed in Paris meant little or nothing; the minority rights, designed primarily to protect the Jews but framed to protect all minorities alike, were of little assistance. Hungary had a White reaction after the overthrow of the brief Communist rule. Rumania experienced a vast growth of anti-Semitism, expressed both in the universities and in the Iron Guard, an armed force of terrorists and reactionaries. Poland restricted the Jews by continued boycotts, by depriving them of government employment, by murder and terrorism. In fact, one series of murders in 1919 was so notorious that both Great Britain and the United States sent commissions of inquiry while the Peace Conference was pending, and both headed by Jews, Sir Stuart Samuel and Henry Morgenthau. Mr. Morgenthau felt that the Polish government was not actually responsible for the outrages; but Sir Stuart called them what they actually were, pogroms on the old Russian model.

Today, in 1935, the Jews of Poland are probably the most wretched of any group of Jews in the world; certainly, they

are as miserable as at any time in their own tragic past. The government has officially disavowed the minority clauses in the peace treaties. Economic pressure against the Jews is continuing all along the line, and this in a deeply impoverished country reduces at least half of them to real starvation.

At the same time, the example of victorious anti-Semitism in Germany is encouraging kindred parties the world over. The Austrian dictatorship is carrying on similar policies on a small scale and without the fanfare of Nazi methods. An anti-Semitic party has appeared in Canada, another in South Africa, a third in Mexico. In the last case, the few Jews are recent immigrants to the country, and strong prejudice exists against them as foreigners, which has been stimulated by anti-Semitic politicians. Anti-Jewish riots have even occurred in a Mohammedan land such as Algiers, whether as a mask to agitation against the French rule or as a response to German propaganda we cannot say.

One more incident of an anti-Jewish nature must be mentioned here, though it is entirely different in essence from anything else in this long and dreary tale of a people's sorrows. In Palestine, under the British Mandate and the Balfour Declaration, a new Jewish culture is rising. By 1935, fully 300,000 Jews had entered the country, where they are building up a Jewish national home, with its Hebrew speech, its farms and industrial cities, its advanced western education and progressive life. There have been two outbreaks of the native Arab population against these Jews, a minor one in 1923, when twenty-five Jews were killed, and a major series in August 1929, when the deaths were five times that number. Most of the murders on this occasion were committed on peaceful, pious Talmud scholars in Hebron

and Safed, while a few were killed in pitched battles between Jews and Arabs in Jerusalem and the farm colonies.

Yet there is no anti-Semitism in Palestine. The real crux of the situation there is the British Mandatory and the attempts of the Arabs to win complete freedom. The Jews were attacked, partly because they are the symbols and beneficiaries of British rule, but even more because they represent an alien civilization, the culture of the West come to invade an Oriental land. Naturally the conservative people of the Near East resent the complete revolution in their lives, which is the steady result of modern ideals in agriculture, in manufacturing, in education, and in health measures. The Jew is thus again the scapegoat, this time as a pioneer of Occidental culture in the half-awakened and immemorial East.



## CHAPTER VIII

### *The Climax: Germany Under the Nazis*

THE PEAK of modern anti-Semitism was reached in Germany in 1933 with the accession to power of the National Socialist German Workers' party. But this was not an isolated phenomenon, rather the result of a series of events, which we must first see in perspective if we are to understand the situation at all.

One of the great movements after the World War was the rise of bitter and extreme nationalism in both victorious and defeated countries. This meant the emphasis on the nation above all else, whether international matters, like religion and culture, or personal convictions and personal liberty. Usually, though not always, it was accompanied by reaction and the suppression of minority groups. If the nation is above all, it cannot tolerate the existence within its borders of any group of people thinking differently from the rest, and claiming a partial independence. One variety of this ultranationalism is known as fascism; it is the theory of the unity of the nation carried to its ultimate extreme. Only one political party may exist, and that is identified with the government. Individual liberty of thought, or at least of action, is suppressed in the interest of unity.

This theory, following Hegel and ultimately Plato, controlled a great part of Europe in 1935. Both nationalism and

fascism lead naturally though not necessarily to anti-Semitism. In Italy, where the number of Jews is small and where they are closely identified with the Italian people, there has been no such result. In Italy fascism knows no difference between Jew and gentile, as long as each is completely at the service of the fascist state. In Poland, on the other hand, with its large minority group of Jews and its long history of prejudice, fascism has greatly intensified anti-Semitism.

The experience of the Germans since the World War has been a tragic one, leading them directly to the overthrow of an impossible order of society. First, there was the loss of the war itself, with its consequent feeling of inferiority. Then came the Treaty of Versailles, where the German representatives were compelled to sign a statement that they were solely responsible for the origin of the war—an untrue statement, and one which they, with equal exaggeration, would have been more than ready to reverse. Germany lost Alsace and Lorraine, the Polish Corridor, all its colonies; was ordered to pay an indefinite sum of reparations for sixty-two years. This last was finally adjusted, but not until it had driven a feeling of utter despair into the hearts of the German taxpayers.

The war itself caused an economic depression, which never entirely lifted; its worst phase was felt in the inflation of 1923. This inflation practically wiped out the German middle class, already seriously reduced by the war and the heavy taxes. The world-wide depression of 1929 was simply an added blow for Germany; she had never recovered her foreign trade and had never become really normalized. Great numbers of young people, grown up since the war, had never held any kind of position or done a day's work in their lives. These young people were all voting for the ex-

tremist parties, either of the extreme right or of the extreme left; they felt they must force a change. They believed that the Weimar Republic, with the nominal support of the Allies, the national enemies, was a failure in every respect. Germany in 1933 was desperate, ripe for a revolution.

In this emergency it was only natural that anti-Semitism should rear its head. There had always been some anti-Semitism in Germany, the land where it had first become a formal theory and a political party. Although the influence of this party was on the decline for ten years before the war and during the struggle, it had always managed to secure a large number of voters and a few seats in the Reichstag. During the Weimar Republic it had little opportunity for action. Jews were released from the social disabilities of the Imperial régime; a few of them sat in the Reichstag as before, and several occupied important positions in the government. The most important of these was Walter Rathenau, a Liberal, who was foreign minister at the time of his assassination by two young Nationalists and anti-Semites. It was therefore possible, by rather violent exaggeration, to call the government a "Jewish republic" and to condemn both the government and the Jews together.

In this whirlpool of conflicting ideals and of bitter passions, the outstanding fact was the growth of the National Socialist party. This was one of the many little groups organized in 1920 with the idea of combating the intolerable conditions of the times. The seventh man to join it was one Adolf Hitler, an Austrian by birth, who had fought in the German army as a corporal, a fanatical racist, a man who was to disclose rare powers of oratory and of organization. He developed this tiny group into a national party; he organ-

ized the Storm Troopers and developed them into a formidable party army, always embroiled with the communists or socialists. In November 1923, in league with General Ludendorff, he tried to rebel against the government, but failed ignominiously, and went to prison for a year as punishment.

During that year he wrote his autobiography and platform, a huge book entitled "Mein Kampf" or in English "My Battle." Released from prison, he came out a popular hero, and his party grew from year to year. By 1930 it cast 6,400,000 votes and took 107 seats in the Reichstag. Repeatedly Hitler was offered a seat in the cabinet, but steadily refused unless he were given full power. Finally, on January 30, 1933, President Paul von Hindenburg appointed the Austrian agitator his chancellor; in view of the failure of all the minority cabinets which had come before, it was hoped that Hitler and the Nationalists might between them establish a conservative government. The charge is also made that exposures of the East Prussian estates were in the offing, which would involve Hindenburg and his friends; that this was his method to forestall embarrassing investigations. Several Nationalists were also placed in the cabinet, but from the first Hitler arrogated to himself autocratic powers.

An election was called for March 5th, when the Nazi party received 52 per cent of the votes cast and made themselves in every sense the government of Germany. One influencing factor was the burning of the Reichstag building on February 27th, which was followed the next day by a decree outlawing the communists and suppressing all personal liberties. This fire was openly charged against the communists, whose leaders were immediately imprisoned. The trial of their leaders for the outrage resulted in acquittal of the German

and Bulgarian communists involved and the execution of a poor Dutch moron, van der Lubbe, who was undoubtedly a cat's-paw in the whole affair. The charge was made by a British committee of inquiry and printed in the "Brown Book of the Hitler Terror" that the real authors of the fire as an anti-communist move were the Nazis themselves, especially Hermann Göring, the premier of Prussia.

The platform of the Nazi party, adopted in 1920, contains twenty-five points, of which seven deal directly with the Jews. I summarize these as the strongest and clearest expression on record of governmental anti-Semitism.

"No. 4. A citizen must be a member of the people. No Jew can be a citizen.

"No. 5. Anyone not a citizen can live in Germany only as a guest and must remain under legislation for foreigners.

"No. 6. We demand that all public offices be filled only by citizens.

"No. 7. We demand that the state be obliged first of all to give the citizen a chance to earn his livelihood. If it is not possible to sustain the entire population of the country, non-citizens are to be deported.

"No. 8. Further immigration of non-Germans is to be prohibited. We demand that all non-Germans who have immigrated into Germany since August 2, 1914, be forced to leave the country immediately.

"No. 23. All editors and co-workers of newspapers appearing in the German language must be members of the folk.

"No. 24. We demand freedom for all religious confessions in the state, in so far as these confessions do not offend the morality of the German race. The party as such represents the point of view of a positive Christianity, without binding itself to any particular confession. It opposes the Jewish



materialistic spirit in and around us and is convinced that the lasting healing of our people can only follow on the principle: common welfare before self-interest."

Even where the language does not expressly use the word "Jew," Hitler and his followers have pointed out that Jews alone are meant. Joseph Goebbels, Minister of Propaganda, wrote before his elevation to that office: "Solution of the Jewish Question. Rejection of all foreign races from public life of all kinds. Clean distinction between German and non-German, based upon race and not upon changed nationality or religion." "Fight against the withering poison of the international Jewish spirit. Conscious strengthening of German power and German custom. Extirpation of the foul Semitic immorality and racial destruction."

National Socialism is made up in equal parts of nationalism, fascism and racialism. The race theory is an integral part of its national revival. Although the many enemies denounced by the party include the former Allies and Russia, the party is impotent against both eastern and western nations. But a third enemy is the Jew, "the foe within," and against him the government and the Storm Troops are supreme. The Jew suffers, not only for himself, but also as a symbol of the hated communists of Russia and of international finance and international military power. The Jews, it is stated, began the war in order to crush Germany; the Jews ended the war, which the brave German armies never lost, by the familiar "stab in the back," the November Revolution of liberals and socialists; the Jews conducted the Russian Revolution as well. "Perish the Jew!"

There is an inherent contradiction in establishing two

central theories, the race and the nation. Italian fascism has avoided this by making the nation its sole principle, and keeping all else subordinate. In Germany, on the other hand, the racial theory means that non-Germans or at least non-Aryans are to be driven out of German life, while Germans now living under other governments, such as Czechoslovakia or Austria, are to be included in the German nation. This logical contradiction causes the threat of war which makes Nazi Germany a storm center in modern Europe.

The number, the violence, and the enormous circulation of anti-Jewish publications in Germany surpasses belief. The material runs from serious, pedantic books to works of more popular form; to magazines and newspapers which exist for the single purpose of spreading anti-Semitism (such as the "Stürmer"), and on to scurrilous pamphlets, handbills and posters. Adolf Hitler's autobiography, with its anti-Semitic outbursts, has sold millions of copies. Theodor Fritsch's "Handbook of the Jewish Question," based on the Protocols, has sold 145,000. Alfred Rosenberg's edition of the Protocols themselves has circulated 20,000 copies. The repudiated "International Jew," originally published by Henry Ford in America, has sold 110,000, and is still being circulated against the express orders of Mr. Ford himself. "Immorality in the Talmud," "The Jew as Race Defiler," "The False God," by Theodor Fritsch—their very titles reek of hate, and their contents distill hatred of the Jew throughout Germany.

Recently a six-volume encyclopedia of anti-Semitism was produced under the title "Sigilla Veri" (The Seal of Truth). In order to purchase this work, one must sign the following pledge: "I am not of Jewish descent, and I have no Jewish

relatives, nor have I any Jewish blood in me. I promise not to sell this book to anyone or give it away as a present. I testify on my word of honor that I am not acting as the agent of any other party." A host of illustrations proves that the Jews are no human race at all, but a *Gegenrasse*, an anti-race, that is, a parasitic group of mongrel heredity. The book is dedicated to "Jews, pro-Jews, and anti-Jews of all times and all lands, especially of Germany, their Torah, their manners and customs, their thieves' tongue, their assumed names, and their secret circles."

When the Nazi party assumed power, even though this was done through the form of an election rather than by violence, the Storm Troopers were turned loose on the populace. Communists, socialists, pacifists, liberals, Jews—all were at the mercy of the new government, which meant of the Nazi party. The party promptly inaugurated a reign of violence, unrestricted by either civil authorities or police. The Brown Book states that fully three hundred persons were killed and several thousand wounded, most of them Jews and Marxists, practically all of them without trial, with the Storm Troopers given full power to work their will upon their victims. Beatings, arrests, and inquiries went on for a month or more; they continued sporadically for at least two years, for terrorism is a publicly avowed method of the Nazi party.

The censorship was enforced strictly over the press, the stage, the motion picture, the radio—every organ of public opinion. All Jews and all persons suspected of anti-Nazi leanings were expelled from any active part in all these fields; every word to be uttered was laid down strictly by the powers that henceforth were to guide the very thoughts of the German people. On May 10, 1933, as a symbol that the sword

is supreme over the pen, there was a holocaust of books in a public square in Berlin, with a public address by Joseph Goebbels to dignify the occasion. Students were sent out to collect wagonloads of books written by Jews, Marxists, and liberals for this great purging.

Many thousands of all these proscribed classes were imprisoned in concentration camps; the estimates range from 50,000 to 125,000. Many of these were confined entirely without trial and were subjected to unspeakable tortures at the hands of the lower officers and the Storm Troopers. The Storm Troops, in fact, were almost supreme until June 30, 1934, when Hitler himself ordered a number of their leaders, including the notorious commander, Ernst Roehm, executed on charges of conspiracy against the government.

The various state governments were suppressed, an act which even Bismarck had never attempted; all political parties were declared unlawful except the one which constituted the state and represented the nation. The labor unions, once the largest and most powerful labor movement in the world, were suppressed, their officers arrested, and their property taken over. They were all finally merged in the Labor Front, where employers and workers were combined under leaders appointed by the party. The effort to cut down unemployment was in part successful, though in part the figures are deliberately falsified, as Jews and Marxists are not eligible for unemployment insurance, and were therefore not counted in the list after the Nazis had taken hold. The constant threats of international war, so boldly announced in preliminary plans, have been held off constantly, although Germany has left the League of Nations and the Disarmament Confer-

ence, has threatened to take over Austria, and has suppressed all pacifists.

Finally, the party has made efforts to control the church, which have resulted in definite struggles against the Catholic Church, and the reorganization of the Protestant churches under a bishop appointed by the chancellor. Here has come strong resistance by a large number of ministers and church members, who resent dictation by any power outside the church itself. They have opposed the attacks on the Old Testament as a Jewish book and the application of the Aryan clause to the church. In return, an extremist wing of the Nazi party, headed by Alfred Rosenberg, has initiated an effort to do away altogether with Christianity as a Jewish creed, and to substitute for it the genuine Nordic religion of Thor and Odin of ancient days. Education has been reorganized to lay emphasis on physical training and military games; also on "race science," which has become a required course in all schools, from the elementary up to the university. Altogether, Germany has undergone a complete process of coördination (*Gleichschaltung*), which is now (in 1935) rapidly destroying every vestige of individual freedom, of independence of groups, and of liberalism.

Among the many repressed groups—labor, political parties, women—the extremes of both legal and violent means are reserved for the Jews. Now these German Jews are neither a large nor a new element in German life. They constituted in 1933 six hundred thousand people, about one per cent of the total population. Many Jewish families have lived in Germany since the Crusades or even longer; less than 20 per cent were the recent immigrants so bitterly attacked by the



Nazis as "foreign," and many of these were refugees to Berlin from German territory which had been taken over by Poland. The occupational distribution of German Jews is not exactly the same as that of the rest of the population, but nowhere has it ever bulked up very large except in a few professions. According to the Prussian census of 1925, the Jews were under one per cent in these occupations: agriculture, government service, domestic service, and industry. They showed the following percentages in other fields: professions, 2.3; health work, 2.3; commerce, 3.4. The proportion of Jewish physicians was 18 per cent; of dentists, 15 per cent; of lawyers, 25 per cent. These were, of course, the highest type of positions available to Jews, who had been excluded under the Empire from the higher offices in government service, full professorships in universities, and all commissions in the army. The Jews were represented beyond their percentage in the press, sciences, and arts. Eight German Jews had received the Nobel prize, Ehrlich, Franck, Haber, Einstein, Wallach, Meyerhof, Warburg, and Willstätter; these eight made Germany the leading country in the world in this respect; without them, she ranked below England and France.

The German Jews were very proud of their German citizenship and nationality; they had made every effort to assimilate themselves thoroughly into German life. Many of them were far more German than Jewish; a considerable number had even forgotten that they or their parents had ever been Jews in their eagerness to become Germans in every respect. Even those who were Jews in religion called their national organization the Central Union of German Citizens of the Jewish Faith, not in jest, but as a sober statement of their position. The German Jews belonged to every party except

the anti-Semitic ones; they were communists, socialists, liberals, nationalists. A few conspicuous leaders among the radical parties made it easy to say that all Jews were radicals and all radicals Jews, even though the communist vote alone was ten times the number of all the Jews in Germany. It was just as easy to point to a few outstanding Jewish capitalists and to declare that all Jews were capitalists and all capitalists Jews, forgetting the actual leaders of German industry, who were all gentiles, and generally nationalists or Nazis.

In particular, by the use of the "Aryan clause," the Nazi government artificially multiplied the number of Jews. This clause, as applied to government service, is in the form of an oath: "I herewith testify on oath that despite careful examination, no circumstances are known to me which could justify the supposition that I am not of Aryan descent or that one of my parents or grandparents at any time professed the Jewish religion. I am aware that I am liable to legal prosecution and dismissal from service if this declaration does not contain the truth."

By thus counting people of one-fourth Jewish blood as non-Aryans, by including Christians with Jewish wives or Jewish business partners, in some cases going back as far as 1800 (that is, four generations), the Nazi party claims that it has swelled the number of Jews to 3,000,000, or five per cent of the total population. The Central Union of German Jews, however, the leading Jewish organization in that country, estimated the total of these "non-Aryans" in 1935 as only 252,000. This included 50,000 Jewish Christians, who were wholly Jewish in blood; 2,000 people of three-fourths Jewish descent; 70,000 half-Jews; and 130,000 quarter-Jews. As the Jewish population had by this time declined to 450,000, the

total was about 700,000, according to a Jewish count. Lieutenant Colonel Duesterberg, formerly presidential candidate of the important Steel Helmet organization, was barred from public life because his grandmother had been a Jewess. Professor Albrecht Mendelssohn-Bartholdy of the University of Hamburg, an outstanding political scientist and opponent of the war-guilt clause of the Treaty of Versailles, lost his position because of his grandfather, a baptized Jew, Felix Mendelssohn, Germany's well-loved musician. Only the Prussian nobility have successfully resisted the Aryan clause, perhaps because their new masters realize the large number of impoverished nobles who in days gone by married wealthy Jewish women in order to retain their estates. Both the Catholic and the Lutheran churches also have shown strong opposition on the strictly religious ground that all Christians, of whatever origin, are brothers in Christ.

With this rigorous interpretation the National Socialist government went about fulfilling its campaign promises to rid Germany of the dangerous Jewish influence. On April 1, 1933, the party conducted a one-day boycott of all Jewish places of business, putting up huge placards and placing sentinels at every door. Ostensibly this boycott was an answer to the "atrocities campaign" of Jews outside Germany, by which the reign of terror had been, according to the Nazis, exaggerated and grossly misrepresented. Actually the boycott had been planned long before; only the fear of foreign criticism limited it to a single day. In fact, unofficially similar boycotts have gone on continually in many sections of the country, pushed by local officials or writers of propaganda.

The most conspicuous of these is Julius Streicher of Nuremberg, editor of the "Stürmer," a newspaper devoted

primarily to the most extreme and revolting campaign against the Jews to be found even in Germany. This publication even gave currency again to ritual murder charges. Streicher is governor of Upper Franconia, and between his literary influence and his political power has practically driven all Jews out of Nuremberg and other towns of his district.

Following the one-day boycott came various restrictive laws against the Jews, designed to drive them out of one occupation after another and to starve them gradually to death. This "cold pogrom," as it was called, was learned from the Poles, just as the earlier violence had been a heritage of the dark fanaticism of the Middle Ages. Civil rights have ceased under German fascism; the Jews have been definitely degraded into second-class citizens. All Jews, together with liberals, socialists, and the like, have been expelled from government service. Jewish professional men have been disbarred except for those who were in practice before August 1, 1914, the front-line soldiers, and those who lost father or son in action during the war. But even these have been greatly restricted, the lawyers by the Nazi judges, the physicians by the government sick benefit agency, which will not accept the certificate of a non-Aryan.

All Jewish teachers were expelled from schools and universities, while the quota of Jews was set at 1.5 per cent in any higher institution of learning. In September 1935 the Prussian minister of education announced that all Jewish children were to leave the public schools by the following Easter, and must attend special Jewish elementary schools. He added: "Germany in no wise intends to give up the fundamental basis of its race policy." Certainly, even this bitter discrimination against little children will be a release

for them individually, for they will on longer be forced to hear the instruction in "race science," sing the "Horst Wessel Song," endure the denunciation of their teachers and the beatings of their schoolmates. For a little while there were riots against Jewish professors, but these stopped with the Nazi régime, for no such professors now remain; proclamations against Jewish students are now almost as useless, for few Jews dare brave the hardships of a German university, especially when they may receive no professional degree and enter no profession. Such measures as these, together with the emphasis on military sport and racial science, have reduced German education from a world leader in every scientific pursuit to an instrument, pure and simple, of nationalism.

Jews have been expelled from journalism, the theater, even from orchestras. Such world-famed figures as Max Reinhardt, Bruno Walter, Lion Feuchtwanger, have been forced to leave Germany. Books by Jewish authors are forbidden circulation in Germany, even the poems of the beloved Heine, even scientific works entirely without political bearing. Jews were expelled from the labor unions, though this act has lost its meaning since the unions themselves were soon suppressed. Still, the local Nazi "cell" often prevents Jews from holding their positions or obtaining new ones, dooming them to starvation. Many large Jewish business houses have been taken from their owners and "nationalized," including the Tietz department stores and the Ullstein Press. On the whole, however, the larger enterprises have suffered the least, for they can buy their exemption.

The race theory has been applied to marriage between Jews and non-Jews. The new law of the realm says: "Whoever is



to be appointed as an official of the Reich must prove that he and his consort are of Aryan descent. . . . Officials of the Reich who are of Aryan descent but who marry a person of non-Aryan descent are to be dismissed." "Non-Aryan" is defined legally as having one Jewish parent or grandparent. Such laws, which apply only to government officials and employees, are applied by the courts and by custom to marriages generally. Many officials refuse to perform intermarriages between Jews and Christians, who must flee to a foreign land in order to marry. Courts have approved divorces between Aryans and Jews, on the single ground that the Aryan partner desires his liberty from a Jewess. Converted Jews are considered Jews always, for race, not religion, is the criterion. One court has even taken children from a Jewish mother, in the case of a divorce, and given them into the custody of the non-Jewish father. But these very children will later be considered Jews because of their mixed descent!

Some fanatics have proposed various fantastic programs to expand this movement. Certain newspapers denounced by name German women suspected of consorting with Jews. In connection with the sterilization program of Germany, designed to eliminate degenerate elements from the race, a great campaign has been urged in posters and various newspapers to sterilize all Jews, together with non-Jews married to Jews. We could dismiss such extravagances with a shrug except for the fact that all newspapers are under strict censorship, and the government itself has permitted the publication of such articles. Other proposals have been made, with every appearance of seriousness, for the establishment of "breeding farms" in order to rear as many pure-blooded

German children as possible. Proclamations to women by the highest dignitaries of the Nazi state certainly urge them constantly to bear more children, legitimate or illegitimate, so long as they be of pure Aryan descent. These official programs begin to verge on the fantasies of the bigots when we bear in mind that the war has reduced the men of Germany, so that there are now 2,000,000 more unmarried women than unmarried men in the country.

Even sport has not been exempt, for the Nazis, like Frederick the Great, invade even the most trivial concerns. Jews have been expelled from all German athletic clubs, and Jewish athletic clubs have been deprived of training facilities and often of the right to enter their members in general meets. Daniel Prenn, the leading tennis player in Germany, was no longer permitted to represent his country in international matches. Many promises have been made to modify such provisions in view of the desire of the Nazis to entertain the Olympic Games in Berlin in 1936; but only one Jew appeared on the German team in the winter sports, and it is doubtful whether the summer games will see any larger representation.

On September 15, 1935, the Reichstag at the bidding of Chancellor Hitler passed various restrictive laws against the Jews, which carried out to a logical conclusion certain of the tendencies noted here. The most important deprived the Jews of German citizenship, which had been worth so little to them under Nazi rule, and made them instead subjects or "guests" of the Teutonic state. Another forbade intermarriage between Aryans and Jews or part-Jews, and declared such marriages void if they were contracted outside Germany. Heavy penalties were assessed against such marriages, as

well as against illicit sexual relations between Aryans and non-Aryans. Finally, the old Visigothic provision was revived in modern form, by forbidding Jews to employ as household servants Aryan women less than forty-five years of age, either to protect those of more tender years from Jewish influence, or perhaps merely to add annoyance and insult to the serious injury of the other regulations.

The heroic martyrdom which the various opposition parties, or their suspected adherents, must undergo as part of their faith is forced upon all German Jews simply because of their birth. The race theory is carried to its logical conclusion. Even the handful of German Jews who desire to be recognized as adherents of the Nazis are contemptuously rejected. This little group has had an organization, the Association of German Nationalistic Jews, headed by one Dr. Max Naumann. They spent their energies strenuously trying to show that a Jew can be as good a Nazi, not to mention German, as any Aryan. After two and a half years of bootlicking, the group met as sad a fate as any aggressive pro-Jewish organization could have suffered, for it was officially suppressed and Dr. Naumann imprisoned on the usual irrelevant charges.

Several international complications have resulted from this anti-Jewish frenzy, as well as from other aspects of the Nazi régime. One is a boycott against German goods, which has had considerable success, not only because of Jewish support, but also because of support from the British labor party, the American Federation of Labor, and liberal organizations in various countries. Another was the petition of Franz Bernheim, a Jew of eastern Silesia, to the commission on minorities of the League of Nations, in which he claimed that the pro-

visions for the protection of minority groups were being broken. It happens that eastern Silesia is covered by a treaty on minorities, while the rest of Germany is not, a measure for the mutual protection of Germans and Poles across the eastern border. The League commission sustained this petition, ordered Germany to conform—but then was struck impotent when Germany withdrew from the League. A third movement is the large and sudden migration of various elements from Germany.

The Dutch government, literally swamped with German Jews and Liberals, protested to the League, with the result that an international commission on refugees from Germany was appointed with James G. McDonald, an American, as high commissioner. There were, in 1935, over seventy-five thousand such refugees scattered through every country near Germany and as far as Palestine and the United States. Of these, about 85 per cent are Jews. Further laws have deprived such émigrés of the right to return to Germany, as well as their rights to any property they may still hold in their former Fatherland. While professors of international reputation have been called to universities from Turkey to America, the majority of these refugees are in bitter straits, which only naturalization in some other country and reëducation in some new trade can remedy. Mr. McDonald resigned early in 1936, urging the League to substitute for philanthropy vigorous governmental action.

From the Inquisition to the Cossacks, from the army of Nicholas to the "cold pogrom" of the Nazis—this has been a weary road. Every moment of misery and tension has made the Jew the eternal enemy, the eternal scapegoat of the sorrows and mistakes of his neighbors. He has borne their pains beside his own.

## CHAPTER IX

### *America and the Jews*

AMERICA is the last country in the world where we would look for anti-Semitism. It is, as a matter of fact, the latest, if not the last, country where anti-Semitism has finally taken root. From the very beginning the United States were made up of so many different groups, of various languages, ethnic origin and historic backgrounds, that they could never have become a nation without a policy of live and let live from the very outset. In addition, religious barriers were destroyed by the Federal Constitution of 1787, as we have already shown in connection with emancipation. Of course, the settlers in the New World did not come without the usual equipment of prejudices from their former homes. The banishing of Catholics from most of the colonies, the terrific persecution of Quakers in Massachusetts testify to this. At the time of the adoption of the Constitution, only five states had enough Jews to form a congregation; several did not admit Jewish residents at all. Several states long preserved these discriminations—Maryland until 1826, North Carolina until 1868, and New Hampshire until 1877. It is only just, however, to add that these statutes had become inactive in the two last-named many years before.

The theory under which the United States was the first country in the world to enter its national life with equal



rights for the Jew was one of individual liberty. Group life was not recognized, though the Pennsylvania Germans, to take one example, were never molested in their use of the German language or in their peculiar religious practices. The only serious exception in the application of this theory was the existence of Negro slavery, an exception which took the greater part of a century and a terrible Civil War to erase from the national picture.

This theory denied the existence of group or, largely, of individual differences. "All men are born free and equal." Certainly it was a new experience to a Jew to be born free, not to mention equal to the meanest of Christians. Jewish life naturally developed in the direction of dropping or forgetting historic differences, and becoming simply one sect in a secular nation, where religion was free and untrammelled. The natural sequence led to the melting-pot theory of American life, by which every group of immigrants was to sink its identity in a common store, the totality to become a new national existence, made up of all the rest. Another popular form was that of "Americanization," not by force, as in the Old World, but by persuasion and example, so that all these many individuals of different character and background might become followers, if not actually imitators, of the New England Puritans.

There was, of course, a general feeling that the Negro was a lower order of being than his white master. Much of the literature of the slavery period reminds us forcibly of the anti-Jewish tirades of medieval and modern times. There was the usual circular argument: a group is lower than the rest, therefore it must be held down, therefore it is lower in culture, in wealth, and in personal character. There were also

anti-alien movements in American life, invariably coming after the peak of a wave of immigration, when a large mass of new people were present, with their peculiarities not yet rubbed off. They coincided also with economic depressions, which put a special stringency on living and made workingmen fear competition especially from the newcomers, who with their lower standards of living were content with lower wages. The two harmonize because a wave of immigration ended only when conditions became less tempting in America.

Such an anti-alien movement came in the administration of John Adams, when the Alien and Sedition Laws were passed. Another came in the fifties, the Know-Nothing or American party. This was a secret organization, aimed chiefly at the two million Irish Catholics who had entered the country within the preceding twenty years. It brought about serious anti-Catholic riots in New York, Boston and Philadelphia; a convent was burned, many deaths ensued, and masses of people were persuaded that the Pope was actually coming to America to succeed the President.

An important sidelight on this movement was the wave of slanders, especially in the form of personal narratives of so-called "escaped nuns." Most notorious of all was Maria Monk, whose "Awful Disclosures" first saw the light of day in New York in 1835. Her two books sold fully 300,000 copies and are still obtainable among smuggled pornographic volumes. They told a story, long since proved entirely false, of her five years as novice and two as nun in a Montreal convent. The book is full of vice and the most senseless cruelty; the nuns were habitually debauched by the priests; the infants resulting from such licentious practices, murdered. Maria herself claimed to have known during two years of

"eighteen or twenty infants smothered or secretly buried in the cellar." She claimed to have witnessed the murder of a nun for repulsing the advances of a priest. The author of these memoirs won a wide, if brief, popularity until it was proved that she had never lived in a convent, had not written her own book, but was merely an ignorant young prostitute with a demented faith in her fantasies. But the stories she told were believed by an amazing number of sane Americans because they confirmed the prevalent fear and hatred of Catholicism.

The slavery question and the Civil War brought this movement to a rapid end; but we must note that it resulted in the worst persecution America has ever seen with the exception of the outrages which grew out of Negro slavery.

The third wave of anti-alien feeling was represented by the American Protective Association, usually known as the A.P.A., which was organized in 1887 and reached its greatest strength about 1894. This was particularly anti-Catholic, as many of the new immigrants were of that faith. At this time there was even produced a forged oath of the Knights of Columbus and a false encyclical of the Pope, both written to prove that a Catholic cannot be a good American citizen—slanders which become significant when we arrive at the Protocols or other accusations against the Jews.

The fourth wave of immigration to the United States, from 1890 on, was by far the largest and was composed in great part of people from countries which had hitherto furnished few immigrants. The Irish and Germans, the aliens who had been hated before, were now favored against the so-called "new" immigration of Italians, Slavs, and Jews; now the race theory made its entry into America, represented by Lothrop

Stoddard and Madison Grant. They had little to say about the Jews, but made their chief purpose the glorification of the tall, blond, long-headed Nordic, threatened with being swamped by the masses of a lower population. Says Mr. Grant in his "Passing of the Great Race": "The races vary intellectually and morally just as they do physically. Moral, intellectual, and spiritual attributes are as persistent as physical characters, and are transmitted unchanged from generation to generation." "The result of the mixture of two races, in the long run, gives us a race reverting to the more ancient, generalized, and lower type. The cross between a white man and a negro is a negro; the cross between any of the three European races and a Jew is a Jew."

When the time for the next anti-alien movement, prepared by the next great wave of immigration and by this kind of teaching, occurred, the Jew was for the first time included. Anti-Semitism in America before that had expressed itself almost entirely in the trivial form of social discrimination. There had not been enough Jews to attract attention; there had been great masses of other aliens to arouse prejudice ahead of them. The immigration had continued in large numbers until the outbreak of the World War. After the war national spirit, aroused to a high pitch, began to rage against the "foreigners." Now the special rôle of the Jew was emphasized. The attack on the "new" immigration included him with the Catholic—Italian and Slav—as its object. That attack was pushed largely by the labor unions in the effort to prevent competition for their jobs. So a series of laws was passed cutting down immigration.

The act of 1921 fixed the quota for a year at 3 per cent of the number of any one nationality who were living in

America in 1910; that for 1924 changed the percentage to 2 and the year to 1890, before the "new" immigration. The national origins law of 1929 established a total limit, and based the annual quota of each nationality, not on any one year but on the proportion it might have of the entire population of the country, counting original arrivals and their periods of increase. The Jewish arrivals were thus cut, successively, from 100,000 or more to 49,000, and then to 11,000 a year. Even these limited quotas were not admitted for several years owing to special orders to American consuls during the depression; but this is the law of the land on which our estimates must be based. The anti-alien movement has thus removed its own causes. No considerable body of Jews or other "new" immigrants is likely to be admitted into the United States in the future. Anti-alien agitation is destined to stop shortly, except for an occasional "red" scare or when it serves as a convenient subject for some demagogue looking for a topic.

Beside this anti-alien movement, in which the Jews drew their own share of abuse, there were some special trends during the post-war period which especially concerned them. In June, 1922, President A. Lawrence Lowell of Harvard University recommended to the board of overseers of the university that they investigate the problem of the excessive number of Jewish students, with their danger to the social and personal standards of the student body. As many other universities were rumored (they still are, for that matter) to be limiting their Jewish attendance, this open proposal to introduce the *numerus clausus* on the model of Russia and Rumania aroused the country and especially the Jews. But the overseers accepted the report of their committee "that no



departure be made from the policy that has so long approved itself—the policy of equal opportunity for all, regardless of race or religion.” At present a number of universities are secretly maintaining Jewish quotas by means of psychological tests, personal interviews or geographical distribution, but not one has dared to bring the matter into the open since the Harvard incident.

During the years 1920 to 1922 a number of European and English works attacking the Jews were reprinted in America, including even an edition of the Protocols themselves. A number of newspapers, such as the “Searchlight” of Atlanta, Georgia, and the “Fellowship Forum” of Washington, D.C., conducted active campaigns against Jews and Catholics. The “Dearborn Independent,” the personal organ of Henry Ford, ran a series of anti-Jewish articles for two years, which were reprinted in four little pamphlets and circulated under the title, “The International Jew.” The chief charge in these articles was directed against the Jewish international financiers, who were said to be running the affairs of the world—with liberal references from that trustworthy source, the Elders of Zion. But the authors went far afield, discussing everything from the “Jewish liquor trust” to “the Jewish aids of Benedict Arnold.” This is a fair sample of their tone: “When the world holds up a warning finger against a race that is the moving spirit of the corruptive, subversive, and destructive influences abroad in the world today, that race cannot nullify the warning by sticking up a false label of ‘Anti-Semitism,’ any more than it can justify the sign of gold on a \$1.50 watch or the sign of pure wool on a \$11.50 suit of clothes.”

These articles had made damaging charges concerning many

individuals. One of these men, Aaron Sapiro, a lawyer and organizer of farm coöperatives, sued Mr. Ford for \$1,000,000 for damage to his reputation and business. The case was declared a mistrial before Mr. Ford had been called to testify; he then apologized formally both to Mr. Sapiro personally and to the Jewish people. The letter on the Jews in general was addressed to Louis Marshall, and dated June 30, 1927. Mr. Ford said: "I deem it my duty as an honorable man to make amends for the wrong done to the Jews as fellow men and brothers, by asking their forgiveness for the harm that I have unintentionally committed, by retracting so far as lies within my power the offensive charges laid at their door by these publications, and by giving them the unqualified assurance that henceforth they may look to me for friendship and goodwill." But the harm still goes on; German and other translations of "The International Jew" are still being circulated over the name of Henry Ford, even though without his authority. Such a book is bound to influence a certain type of reader; unfortunately for the maligned Jew, only critical and informed reading can render it harmless.

The greatest movement of this period toward anti-Semitism was the revival of the Ku Klux Klan, organized in 1915 by William J. Simmons of Atlanta, Georgia. The Klan was a secret organization, wearing robes and masks even in its public parades. Its membership was "white, gentile, Protestant American." Its animus was divided between the Negro, the Catholic, the foreign-born, and the Jew, for it specialized in different phases of race hatred in different sections of the country. At one time the Klan claimed as many as four million members, though this was probably an exaggeration. For a time the Klan was active in politics, becom-

ing a formidable force in several states, notably Indiana and Colorado. Then there was a notorious murder trial in Louisiana, when the methods of intimidation and violence natural to such an order were exposed. This, together with exposures by the New York "World" and other newspapers, hindered the growth of the Klan, though certainly it did not destroy the attitude of mind which made the Klan possible. The boycotts against Jewish storekeepers, the frequent threats and occasional violence against "uppish" Negroes died down; soon the Klan as an organized menace disappeared.

Beside these native reactions against the Jews we find an imported one. A number of Russian émigrés, driven out by the Revolution, came to America and in some cases actually served as employees of the State Department. These men naturally were bitterly anti-Soviet, anti-radical, and anti-Semitic. Following their lead, it became easy for any anti-Semite to believe that every communist was a Jew and every Jew a communist. Radical movements the world over were ascribed to Jewish influence; the whole sorry business of the Protocols was brought to light once more.

The booming days of prosperity in the 1920's saw anti-Semitism again reduced to its previous basis: a bit of preaching in fundamentalist churches, a great deal of social exclusiveness, some discrimination in universities, and a large number of people who "just don't like Jews." The Klan had become impotent; the Ford articles were withdrawn; the Russians were deprived of influence. Most important of all, the new and stricter immigration laws kept Jews out in large numbers and deprived agitators of the "menace" they needed for anti-Semitic propaganda. As during these days everybody had employment and many enjoyed unusual incomes, the eco-

conomic motive was happily lacking. Nobody could have foreseen the imminent coming of the depression or of the wave of anti-Semitism that has come with it.

The current anti-Jewish movement in the United States began about 1931, and now, in 1936, shows few signs of weakening. It contains three elements which deserve mention: the German propaganda in America, the nativist revival, and the growing economic difficulties of the American Jew. The German element in this movement is a direct and natural result of the Nazi régime in Germany, which aroused bitter opposition in the United States. It was understandable that the new German government should send agents to contact the vast German-American population in order to create sympathy on this side of the water. That propaganda has been investigated by a committee of Congress, which has discovered many interesting, not to say startling, facts.

It seems definite that the German government, as one branch of its tremendous propaganda at home, instituted a division for foreign propaganda and furthered the organization of such a movement in America. Much of this work was legitimate, some of it illegal, but all included anti-Semitism as part of the Nazi platform. In September 1932, before he took office, Adolf Hitler authorized the establishment of a Nazi unit in the United States; nine centers were established. After he took control in Germany, a change was made; the Nazi unit was restricted to German citizens and the League of the Friends of the New Germany organized for American citizens who sympathized with the National Socialist party. This league had nineteen units in 1935, where regular propaganda meetings were held, with uniformed guards drilled

after the pattern of the Storm Troops. It controlled a number of the German language newspapers of the United States which print the official propaganda from Berlin.

In the attempt to gain control of all such newspapers and of all the German societies in the United States, of which there are a great number, the League has met with strong opposition. The Ridder brothers, proprietors of the New York "Staats-Zeitung," have steadily refused to give up their liberal policy. The German-Jewish societies in New York of course opposed the Nazis and were expelled from the United German Societies, which were thus taken over completely by the propagandists. The national meeting of the United German Conference, however, did not endorse the National Socialist government, but refused to take sides in a political question. There seems no doubt that this movement was directed from Germany; charges have been made that it was financed in part by the government propaganda department. German agents were sent, or allowed to come, to America, such as Heinz Spanknoebel, who later fled the country to avoid governmental interrogation, and Fritz Gissibl. German exchange students appointed from among "nationally minded" young people, were assigned duties of observation, if not of actual propaganda. Even American publicity agents were engaged; the names of George Sylvester Viereck, Colonel Edwin Emerson, Ivy Lee and Carl Byoir have been mentioned in this connection.

A split in the Friends of the New Germany occurred in December, 1934, with the organization of the American National Socialist League. Kurt George William Lüdecke, a former officer of the "Friends," was its chief backer, while the older organization was now headed by Louis Zahne.



Some of these points are disputed and will undoubtedly have to wait to be cleared up at a later date, but there is no doubt as to the anti-Semitic trend of the Friends of the New Germany. One sample, out of many, will suffice: a chain letter taken from an advertisement of an "Aryan Book Store." It reads: "*Realize:* That Communism and Bolshevism were never intended to help the poor, but under Jewish leadership they preach class hatred between Gentiles. International Jewry agitates for wars between Gentile nations, so world Jewry and their paid agents are the only winners when the Gentiles fight each other. How many million lives of Gentile girls have been spoiled by Jews who protect their own women but see in every Gentile girl their rightful prey. . . . The Jews are not superior—they are fresh, indecent, conceited and know no scruples. . . . The Jews are not of the White Race, they are Semites (half Niggers). 'GENTILES, BEWARE OF THE JEWISH DOMINATION.' " Similar pamphlets and letters have been broadcast throughout the United States. Liberal use was made of the unsavory Hauptmann case in 1935, when one Bruno Richard Hauptmann was convicted of the murder of the infant child of Colonel Lindbergh. Nazi sources in America actually charged the death to Jews as a ritual murder, and claimed that Hauptmann, as a German, had been made the butt of a Jewish prosecutor.

A special organization was formed to combat the boycott against goods imported from Germany, by a counter-boycott against Jews and others affiliated with the boycott movement. This is the Deutsch-Amerikanischer Wirtschafts-Ausschuss (German-American Economic Alliance), usually known as the DAWA. This group issued a directory of approved business firms in many different lines, has pushed an active cam-

paign against any dealing with Jews, and is serving as the economic nucleus for a Nazi movement in America. These distinctly German organizations and propaganda have been greatly reduced by the public influence of the congressional investigation committee in the summer of 1934, headed by Congressmen McCormack and Dickstein. This committee investigated foreign propaganda, both Nazi and Communist, found much of the former and very little of the latter, and introduced bills against them both.

The nativist movement in America worked in close harmony with this Nordic propaganda of German origin. It took on a fascist coloring, attacked democracy and the Jews, and cited Germany as the one land where the Jewish problem was being properly solved. There are a number of these fascist organizations springing up sporadically throughout our country. The Ku Klux Klan has been revived; there are the Silver Legion, the Khaki Shirts, the Crusaders for Economic Liberty, the Liberty party and many others flourishing for a little while, being amalgamated, passing out of existence. Most of them are small, some purely local, some allied with the German propaganda movement, and all directly influenced by it. Most of them, as a normal part of the fascist and nativist attitude, are bitterly anti-Jewish.

Consider the Silver Legion, the most prominent of these for some time. It was organized by William Dudley Pelley with headquarters in Asheville, North Carolina, and with an organ, "Liberation." Estimates of its membership ranged from 30,000 to 200,000; certainly it had important centers in Oklahoma and California. Its stated program is to destroy the present economic system of the United States and to overcome the contamination of Jewry. To quote from

"Liberation": "The Jews have always played the part of parasites—a nation within a nation, persisting in predatory tactics." The story goes on, monotonous for all its bitter vituperation. The Jews do not share in the Godhead in man. The Jews are robbing the gentile population. Worst of all, the Jews are in actual control of the Democratic administration, beginning with the Treasury and the Federal Reserve Board, but dominating all branches of the government, including the President himself. This organization was closed by the courts for fraud, but promptly reorganized under a different name.

The only prominent person in public life who has taken up this viewpoint and tried to disseminate it is Congressman Louis T. McFadden, a Republican representative from Pennsylvania. Speaking in the House on May 29, 1933, Mr. McFadden quoted the disavowed articles of the "Dearborn Independent" and attacked the international Jewish money power. "The Democratic party," he said, "has given the gold and lawful money of the country to the international money Jews of whom Franklin D. Roosevelt is the familiar. . . . Is it not true that, in the United States today, the 'gentiles' have the slips of paper while the Jews have the gold and lawful money? And is not this repudiation bill a bill specifically designed and written by the Jewish international money changers themselves in order to perpetuate their power?" Congressman McFadden was defeated for reelection in November, 1934, after serving twenty years in the House of Representatives. On January 22, 1935, he announced his candidacy for the nomination for president of the United States on the Republican ticket, with the platform: "Christianity instead of Judaism; Americanism against Communism;

Nationalism against Internationalism; and Individualism instead of Collectivism." *This is the first open evidence of political anti-Semitism in the United States of America.*

It is only a short step from the above to the twofold discovery of the Silver Shirts that President Roosevelt is the descendant of Dutch Jews and that the "real president" of the United States is Bernard Baruch! It would be interesting to compare all these statements with earlier nativist attacks on Catholics and on various nationalities of immigrants. The result would probably show the same spirit, the same sentence structure, with only the alteration of a few leading words.

The fantastic charges made against the Jews appear in a document printed in "Liberation," the Pelley organ, on February 3, 1934, in which Benjamin Franklin is shown as denouncing the Jews in the following words: "If you do not exclude them from these United States in this Constitution, in less than two hundred years our descendants will be working in the fields to furnish them substance, while they will be in the counting house rubbing their hands. I warn you, Gentlemen, if you do not exclude the Jews for all time, your children will curse you in their graves. Jews, Gentlemen, are Asiatics, let them be born where they will"—and so on, in true Nazi fashion. The distinguished historian, Charles A. Beard, who, as far as we know, has never been branded by his detractors as Jewish, performed a service by exposing this work as a crass forgery. Charles Pinckney of South Carolina, from whose writings this is said to have been copied, kept no journal of the constitutional convention, and the original of this amazing document has never been shown. The sentiments are directly opposed to every known statement and

action of Franklin, who was actually a subscriber to the building fund of the synagogue in Philadelphia. Finally, the document is not even couched in eighteenth-century language, inserting ideas and words which were not current in Franklin's day. It is the old, old device of ascribing one's own ideas to a man long dead whose great name may carry conviction.

A far more significant and far more dangerous tendency makes for the economic restriction of the Jew. If this goes on, the normal distribution and normal income of the Jews, which was slowly developing, will be endangered; an unhealthy crowding into a few types of work will be the result. The Jew, entering a few occupations, such as the needle trades, has been highly concentrated in America, living largely in the few big cities and entering a few trades. As fast as he could, however, he has drifted into other lines of work, and probably would soon have become a normal economic group, with about the average number of workers, business and professional men, and with these distributed into various lines. The depression has intensified a tendency which was already present, and is making the Jew in many fields the marginal worker, the first to be discharged in bad times, the last to be taken on in good.

Heywood Broun and George Britt authored a most significant book on this very problem, entitled "Christians Only." They tell how a study of the Help Wanted columns of the "New York Times" on a single day showed sixty-nine advertisements which inquired about the religion of applicants; the "World" had thirty-four; the "Herald Tribune," twenty, and the "American," two. Many of these stated expressly that only Christians need apply, while a few specified



Protestants. An inquiry in 1929 among twenty-three commercial employment agencies showed that in ten the Jewish applicants had no chance of being placed—in some they were not even registered; in seven they had very little chance, and at only six they had an equal opportunity with non-Jewish applicants. The depression has intensified this situation by making competition much keener. When only one qualified person applies for a position, he will probably get it, even if he be a Jew. But when ten apply, any slight disadvantage or prejudice eliminates one of the applicants at once. Many large firms in both banking and general business employ no Jews, according to these two writers who gave much study to the question. Still more have a quota for Jewish employees, which may be fairly large or very small. In the face of these facts, many Jewish young people cannot obtain the employment they desire, for which they are equipped; others cannot obtain any work at all; still others masquerade as Christians in order to earn a living.

Some universities have quotas against Jews; the practice is quite general among professional schools. The number of students in medical schools, especially, is limited; there must be rigid selection of students, for the schools have no desire to turn out either poorly trained or too many doctors. Now, this is the very field which has more Jewish applicants than any other. If Jews were accepted on their merits, they might have as high a proportion among medical students as among applicants—there is no telling whether they have exactly the same qualifications as Christians.

But when a school with 50 per cent of Jewish applicants admits 10 per cent of Jewish students, a Jew has one-fifth as good a chance of entering that school after application as a

non-Jew. Rev. Frank Gavin investigated this situation in 1930; he found that Jewish medical students often had to apply to several schools before being admitted, even if they were in every way qualified, and that the vast majority of American students of medicine in Europe are Jews, excluded from medical schools in their own land. The proportion of Jewish physicians and of Jewish medical students is certainly higher than the percentage of Jews in the United States. But if Jewish applicants, with proper personality and training, are not admitted to these professional schools as readily as Christians who are equally well fitted for the work, the element of prejudice may be said to have entered in.

Two professions, teaching and engineering, have very few Jewish members, because in these fields the beginner must get a position to begin his career, and many employers discriminate against Jews. This is especially true of many boards of education in small towns and country districts, where the teacher is expected to be a Sunday-school worker and in every sense a member of a rural Protestant community. A bulletin of the School of Education of the Ohio State University advises the student frankly: "Certain fields of teaching are crowded; also there are discriminations which make it difficult for people of the Jewish and Catholic faiths to get employment as teachers." Many large employers of engineers discriminate against Jews on the ground that they are not so capable of bossing a gang of workmen, or that other engineers prefer not to work with them. Obstacles in the academic field are just as serious. Many colleges are associated with certain churches and naturally do not employ any Jews. The field is at once narrowed to state universities and privately endowed institutions. Even here, some department heads will

appoint no Jews; others have a quota; only a few do not consider a man's religion or national background at all in making appointments.

A result of this discrimination in some professions is a considerable overcrowding of Jews in such fields as are open. The individualistic professions of law, medicine, and dentistry do not depend on gaining a position, but are competitive to all who enter them. But many of these Jewish professional men live in Jewish districts and seek to serve a Jewish clientele, so that they are put in the position of competing against one another. The high proportion of Jews in these professions does not operate adversely when they are scattered and compete with the entire field; it is a serious detriment when the overcrowded profession forces three Jews into one neighborhood.

Discrimination in employment and in professional lines is the outstanding evidence of anti-Jewish prejudice in America today, more serious than religious or social prejudice, even more fundamental and more permanent than the propaganda of Nazi organizers or the outcries of nativist fanatics. The various aspects, added together, indicate that the second anti-Semitic movement is now in process in the United States, and that it promises to remain a part of American life as a whole. I have not given the other side, the number of liberals in American life, the attempts at understanding, the foes of the race theory and advocates of equality for the Jew. This other side of the picture will find its proper place later on in our study, when we discuss the remedies for anti-Semitism. But we must bear in mind that the picture, while deeply shaded, is not one-sided, that the United States is by organization and tradition the last country to give rise to anti-

Semitism, and should be the first to see it die down, if not quite disappear.

Probably no one group out of the many of which America is composed will ever be the butt for the attacks of all the others. If any such exists, it is more likely to be the Negro than the Jew. But in the past such movements as the Know-Nothing party or the Ku Klux Klan have represented a composite of hates, against the Negro, the alien, the Oriental, the Catholic and the Jew, each appealing to one special group or to one section of the country. If liberalism ever advances in America to the point of solving the essential problems of the land, the race problem it will first encounter is that of black and white, not the comparatively minor one of gentile and Jew.

We have traced a story so repetitiously sad that it is almost monotonous. The high lights of persecution and tragedy repeat themselves again and again in the dreary experience of the Jew. Religious persecution, economic competition, national prejudice, racial discrimination (ranging from quotas in universities to the bestial murders by mobs)—so runs the sordid saga. "In every land have we been crucified!" We must ask ourselves, What does it all mean? Why is this one little people singled out for such universal hatred and misery? What is there in the Jew, or in his enemies, or in the world as a whole that has caused such a terrible and long-drawn-out experience? Having run over the facts in rapid fashion, we shall now turn to their explanation; for the rest of our book we shall study the causes, results, and remedies of this fatal enmity.

PART II

ANALYSIS OF ANTI-SEMITISM





## CHAPTER X

### *The Religious Causes*

THE SPECIFIC CAUSES of anti-Semitism are all secondary causes. The underlying cause is the fact that the Jew is a minority group, subject to the disabilities and persecutions which seem to be the necessary accompaniment of that abnormal status. But the Jew has met such prejudice with such terrible results many times, in different centuries and in different lands; he has had far more than his share, even as a small and scattered people. So the specific causes have some importance in their way. They explain the form of anti-Semitism in any particular land or era. They throw light upon the thought processes of the people who hated the Jew with the reasons which his persecutors offered for their distrust and hatred.

Of course, often these so-called reasons are merely rationalizations to cover the real reason, which might be unknown even to the most virulent haters themselves. Often the anti-Semites sought consciously for accusations against the Jews, much as a conscientious prosecutor might look for charges to bring against a prisoner accused of crime, when he feels that at any cost he must obtain a conviction. At other times the specific charges against the Jews floated naturally enough out of the atmosphere of the time, products of the environ-

ment which created the hatred itself. It was just as natural for an economist like Sombart to invent an economic charge against the Jews as for a medieval Pope to find a religious attack on them thoroughly justified.

Some of these charges would bring out such abhorrent or despicable characteristics of the Jews that no being in human form could really be guilty of them—murdering children, poisoning wells, causing wars, overthrowing governments for personal gain. Others are merely the statement of differences—the Jews have a different religion from the Mohammedans, or belong to a different race from the Germans. Still others are based on local situations in which the Jews are caught like their neighbors, say, the commercial class of Russia, and are accused of exploiting the suffering peasants; or as a segregated minority, of speaking their own language and lacking genuine love for the Tsar. Some of the charges are so trivial that if they stood alone, we should not even notice them, such as the loud voices of Jewish men or the ostentatious jewels of Jewish women.

Many of the charges are not even based on a stable conception of what the Jew is, but are contradictory among themselves. The Jew is accused by the same critic, often in the same sentence, of being a revolutionary and of being a capitalist. Either one of these is a true Jewish characteristic, in which case the other charge is false; or both are true of individual Jews, as of individual non-Jews, and neither is a reasonable charge against the Jewish people as a whole. In the growing bitterness of the class struggle in the post-War era, probably the last situation is the real one; the rich Jews, who stand with their fellow capitalists of all races and creeds, attract the enmity of the poor and dispossessed; while the far

greater number of poor Jews, with their occasional revolutionists, excite the fear and suspicion of the rich.

These secondary causes for anti-Semitism, then, depend chiefly on the anti-Semites and very little on the character and actions of the Jews themselves. Only occasionally do we find a charge which is even based on anything inherently Jewish in their conduct. The charges are the product of gentile thinking, not of Jewish living. They are related to the environment in which the gentiles live, from which they have derived their ideas of the noble and the dangerous. They may be false, these accusations, or contradictory, or trivial, or ridiculous; they may even be true and worthy of consideration. The important thing is whether they are believed and whether they cause hatred of the Jew in those who do believe them.

In the long history of anti-Semitism which we have traced, the religious charges against the Jew take the first place. This comes inevitably from the fact that the longest period of anti-Jewish prejudice has been the intensely religious era of the Middle Ages, when men thought naturally in terms of religion, when their primary hope was the dream of attaining heaven and the primary enemy of man was Satan with his devils. Thus the hatred minority would stand out for its religious differences with the orthodox Christian Church. The Jew was not alone in this; every individual Christian suspected of heresy was subject to trial and punishment for the sin of denying the true faith. A group of heretics, like the Albigenses, was exterminated in a bloody war and proved the occasion for the organization of the Holy Office of the Inquisition. The Crusades, whatever their economic or political motives may have been, were primarily for the mass of the

people who engaged in them, holy wars to free the blessed land of Palestine from the infidel.

Among those many heretics and infidels, the Jew was especially conspicuous, not only because he refused to accept the faith, but chiefly because he was specifically named in the New Testament as the one who had crucified Jesus. The Jewish religion was interwoven with Christianity through both the Old and New Testaments. The Jewish people, the blood relatives of Jesus himself, were undying examples of his rejection by his own people; by their very existence they were a persistent denial of the Christian scheme of salvation.

Some modern students of the question feel that this religious opposition is the root of present-day hatred of the Jew. Religious sentiments, we know, are so deep-seated that they are not speedily forgotten. Dr. Horace M. Kallen ascribes much of the modern anti-Semitism to the New Testament story, as it is still taught in many Christian churches and church schools to young and impressionable children. The children have learned these lessons in their most plastic years, he points out, and never forget them in later life. Then, when they become enlightened and no longer feel that they ought to hate anybody for his part, or supposed part, in a drama of nineteen hundred years ago, they simply look for other reasons to hate the Jews.

This may certainly be an exact description of the attitude of certain anti-Semites; but it does not explain their attitude in general, nor does it correspond to the economic and political atmosphere in which the modern charges have actually grown. But in the Middle Ages, and for some groups to whom orthodox religion is still the only standard of life, religion is the chief mode by which hatred of the Jewish



minority expresses itself and is certainly a contributing cause to the rise of anti-Semitism.

We must realize at the outset that the religious attack on the Jew was made in good faith and was founded on a definite measure of truth. The Jews were distinct from other peoples; one outstanding sign of that difference was their religion. They were the people of religion par excellence—Mohammed called them the People of the Book—and, while many of them became converted to the faith of the majority, a stubborn remnant always remained staunchly loyal to Judaism. This Judaism had certain outstanding marks of demarcation from Christianity, even though to an Oriental the two seem, as they are, closely related. Both religions are monotheistic; both accept the Old Testament, the Jewish Bible, as divinely inspired; both, in consequence, accept the same Ten Commandments, pray in the words of the same Psalms, look forward to the same Messianic future. But the differences are equally striking. First and foremost, the Jews could never accept Jesus as a divine being, the son of God. Then Judaism as a whole hoped for a national and universal salvation rather than for a personal salvation from sin, the special hope of Christianity, the special function of Christ in the Christian plan of birth, death, and salvation. St. Paul had attacked Judaism directly on several of these points; later Christian leaders expanded the criticism and used it as a motive for their far-reaching schemes for Jewish conversion or extermination.

One mode of attack is to show the superiority of the New Testament over the Old. This is often done by contrasting real differences, in which case the writer has merely to develop his own faith in a favorable light. It is done quite

as often by misrepresentation of the Old Testament or by ignoring other facts which are necessary for a conclusion. The heroes of the Old Testament, Jacob, David, Moses, are shown to be faulty human beings with their weaknesses and even sins, while Jesus, the hero of the New Testament, is pictured as divinely perfect and without sin. We need not go into the question of how far either work gives a complete historical picture. It is enough to realize that the Old Testament has no desire to portray a perfect man, but merely a mode of life which will develop human character.

Again the Old Testament is attacked as a bloodthirsty work, with the slaughter of the Amalekites and the aborigines of Canaan commanded by God and carried out willingly by the Hebrews. Thus not only were the Jews a cruel and heartless people but their very God commanded and sanctioned such brutalities. These brutalities, it is well to remember, took place in the twelfth century before the Christian era, in the late Bronze Age. It was about the time of the siege of Troy, five hundred years before the legendary founding of the city of Rome. We need hardly be surprised to see brutality toward enemies of other faiths among the primitive Hebrews, when the God-fearing Godfrey of Bouillon, that "gentil, parfit knight," perpetrated an identical massacre on the helpless Jews of his day as a Crusader, a fighter under the Cross. Not only the Crusaders expected the divine blessing on their bloodstained arms; as late as the World War civilized nations asked for the help of God to exterminate their enemies. The primitive bloodthirstiness of the early Hebrews was hardly wiped out by Christianity.

However, this harshness of the early Jews is compared, not

with the similar cruelty of the Christian knights, but with the idealism of Jesus and Paul. The true comparison here would seem to be the idealists of the Old Testament, such as Isaiah or Hosea. The summary of the perfect life by Jesus was expressed in Old Testament words, "Hear O Israel, the Lord our God is one God," from Deuteronomy 6:4, and "Thou shalt love thy neighbor as thyself," from Leviticus 19:18. The very Golden Rule was anticipated in slightly different terms by the great rabbi, Hillel, who lived and taught in Jerusalem in the generation before Jesus.

This is not to deny the greatness of Jesus or of the religion which was founded in his name. It is merely to indicate the trivial or even false character of many of the charges made against the Old Testament. The contrast established by Paul was on firmer ground. Paul calls Judaism a religion of law, whereas Christianity has superseded the law by an inner religion, a religion of love. To quote the Epistle to the Romans: "Now we know that what things soever the law saith, it saith to them that are under the law. . . . But now the righteousness of God without the law is manifested, being witnessed by the law and the prophets." Again: "But now we are delivered from the law, that being dead wherein we were held; that we should serve in newness of spirit, and not in the oldness of the letter." Here is indeed a valid distinction; Judaism is primarily a religion of duty, and that duty is outlined in great detail in the precepts of the law, both of the Bible and of the Talmud. Christianity is primarily a religion of faith; that faith rests on personal conviction. The choice between the two is purely a personal matter. The contrast between the two is correct, if we allow

for the ethical nature of the Jewish law, on the one hand, and for the later legalistic and institutional development of Christianity on the other.

But another distinction is not quite so well-founded, that between the national character of the Jewish religion and the universal one of Christianity. Judaism began, as all ancient religions did, as the faith of a particular people in its own God. In the minds of the prophets of the eighth pre-Christian century, however, this faith assumed certain universalistic elements. These universalistic attitudes were adopted by the early Christian Church to the exclusion of the national background from which they sprang. So it would be more correct to view Judaism as the religion of a certain people with a universal message for other peoples as well. The teaching that God is the Ruler of the whole earth, the Guide of all men; that one moral law applies to the entire human race; that, in fact, all men are really brothers because they are children of this same God, is the universal element in both the mother and the daughter religions. The doctrine of the Chosen People is the nationalistic element in Judaism; the same doctrine was later applied by the Christian Church to its own fellowship.

One specific accusation, based on New Testament quotations, is that against the Pharisees of ancient times and modern Jews as their successors and followers. Now it is doubtful whether Jesus meant to attack all Pharisees as hypocrites and whited sepulchres, or whether his invective is directed only against the hypocrites among them; like every sect they undoubtedly had their share of lip-servers and unworthy representatives. Either might agree with the context and the conditions of the time. But the important fact is that we are

dealing in the New Testament with a family quarrel, which is generally apt to grow more vindictive than differences between those not of one blood and background.

Jesus had far more in common with the Pharisees than with their opponents, the worldly Sadducees, who were the priestly caste of the Temple and the friends of the Roman tyrants. The Pharisees were the popular, democratic party in Israel, who based leadership on learning rather than birth; who worshiped by choice in the synagogue by prayer rather than in the Temple by the sacrificial ritual; who held to the development of the faith through the oral law rather than holding simply to the letter of the Scripture. The Pharisees were thus the direct ancestors of the Talmudic writers and the preservers of all later Judaism. Only from their midst could have come the profound reinterpretation of the Jewish ideals which characterized Paul and the other early Christian leaders.

It would seem irrelevant to go back two thousand years for a valid criticism of the Jews or a defense of their doctrine. But this has been the practice of many, who sought to comb the entire realm of history for charges against their enemies. The recent analysis of the Pharisees by two such eminent Christian scholars as George Foot Moore of Harvard and the English specialist in this period, Travers Herford, has resulted in a complete rereading of their place in history and their relation to primitive Christianity. The Pharisees, with all their human errors, were a party of devout men, who worked greatly for the cause of national morality.

The same mixture of true and false, of actual differences and exaggerated facts, is found in the later attacks on the



Talmud. The Talmud, that vast repository of Jewish law, religion, and tradition for the first five centuries of the Christian era, became in later times the authoritative interpretation of the Bible. The Talmud, it is true, is more national and less universalistic than the Bible. It was the Jew's substitute for the nation and the land he had lost; by this great structure of law, religion, and social life the Jew might live even without the usual attributes of a nation. Very few Christians, of course, were familiar with the Talmud; they might believe readily anything that was said in its disparagement. Only a few converts from Judaism or an occasional Christian scholar would know even what it contained. We have seen how the Talmud was condemned to be burned on charges such as the following and how Reuchlin saved it when the same problem arose in his own day.

Now let us examine a few of these charges. They are all based on isolated sayings of particular men writing under special circumstances. There is the sentence: "The best of the gentiles—kill him." It is in itself exceptional. Most of the Talmudic rabbis incline rather to the idea that "the righteous of all nations shall inherit a share in the world to come." Simeon bar Jochai uttered these bitter words during the persecution under Hadrian, when he had been a refugee for fourteen years; aside from his personal wrongs, he felt also, and countless non-Jews agreed with him, that the Roman tyrants were, in fact, not his enemies alone but the enemies of mankind. The Eighteen Benedictions, one of the prayers to be recited daily, includes a curse of the Minim, the sectaries who were rebelling against Judaism. This curse may or may not have included Christians in its inception. But even if it had, such a reaction against a schism would be only

natural, particularly when the schismatic group had begun to persecute the religion from which it sprang.

The prayer, Kol Nidre, recited each year on the eve of Atonement Day, is a prayer for the annulment of oaths which have been made during the past year and have been found unreasonable or impossible. In later times the tense of the verb was changed to the future to include vows which might still be made. This was held ground for the charge that Jews did not consider their promises binding when made to Christians. Obviously, the prayer might have been interpreted in this fashion; but no one has ever been able to find evidence that it ever was. According to the Talmud, it covered only oaths made to God, not wrongs to one's fellow men; these must be made good before divine forgiveness was held possible. It became most popular and most touching in its use by the Marranos, who wished to pray as Jews at least once in the year. Their first step would naturally be to ask forgiveness for their outward worship of Jesus that they might be able to share the prayers of a Jewish congregation.

While these examples are trivial enough, they were the occasion of serious difficulties at more than one time in Jewish history. But all of them together do not compare with the effect of the New Testament story of the trial and crucifixion of Jesus. This made the Jews the villains in the Christian drama of salvation, as they still are in the Oberammergau Passion Play even today. The book of Matthew (chapter 27) is the source for the direct accusation of the Jewish people as a whole, not merely of individuals like Judas Iscariot or Caiaphas the high priest. "Pilate said unto them, What shall I do then with Jesus which is called Christ? They all say unto him, Let him be crucified. . . . When

Pilate saw that he could prevail nothing, . . . he took water and washed his hands before the multitude, saying, I am innocent of the blood of this just person: see ye to it. Then answered all the people, and said, His blood be on us and on our children."

This terrible sentence was actually fulfilled a thousand times over on children unborn for centuries after the tragedy on Calvary. It was the official curse of Israel, which Popes and Councils might interpret or assuage, but never denied. Only in modern times have occasional scholars gone beyond a protest at applying wholesale the punishment for a crime many hundreds of years old to remote descendants of the guilty, and have turned to examination of the crime itself and the evidence against the Jews. Not certainly against the Jews of the twentieth century in Germany or America, but even against those of the first century in Jerusalem! The most recent and one of the strongest studies of this question is "The Christian-Jewish Tragedy" by Professor Conrad H. Moehlman of the Colgate-Rochester Divinity School. Mr. Moehlman's motive is to repair the historical wrong done the Jews by Christianity—"The Christian record regarding Judaism is written in blood in all the countries of Europe" is his conclusion. But in his examination of the New Testament documents he follows the leading historical critics of the world.

He shows that the story in the gospels regarding a trial of Jesus before the Sanhedrin and then before Pilate must be incorrect; the Sanhedrin had the power to execute for offenses against the Jewish law; they would have stoned the offender to death if they had condemned him. The fact that Jesus was condemned by Pilate and crucified in Roman fashion

proves that however many enemies, as well as friends and followers, he may have had among the Jews, he was actually put to death by the Romans under suspicion of being a Messianic pretender and therefore a potential rebel against Rome.

"The charge against him was political and therefore came under the jurisdiction of the Roman procurator. Pilate dealt with Jesus on the charge of treason." In addition to this, there is plenty of evidence from Jewish sources that the trial, as described in the New Testament, was by no means according to Jewish law. Such a trial for a capital offense had to be hedged about with protection for the accused, conducted under regular form, and carried out with extreme deliberation. The only reasonable conclusion is that Jesus was executed by the Roman government under suspicion of treason; the inscription placed on the cross, "This is Jesus the king of the Jews," in its very mockery expressed the true reason for the whole terrible miscarriage of justice. Pilate, whose character is well known in Roman history, was a typical relentless ruler, such as Rome usually sent to conquered provinces; the current form of the story was the creation of later times, when the rising Christian Church desired to make converts among the Romans and to disavow too close connection with the Jews. Hence the folk of Jesus, who numbered among their many parties Jesus himself and his apostles, were blamed *en masse* for his actual death.

Some apologists for the Nordic theory have gone so far as to assert that Jesus himself could not have been a Jew. Their evidence, however, is so scanty that the whole theory may be dismissed as merely wishful thinking. Their chief argument is that his father might have been a Roman soldier

of the Nordic race, though there is no evidence whatever for such a random guess, and though the entire theory of his divine birth would negate such parentage for any devout Christian. But the attempt to deny Jesus to the Jews is on a par with the similar effort to deny the Old Testament in the interests of the New, when every Christian theologian, Catholic or Protestant, maintains that the New Testament rests on the basis of the Old and that neither can be properly understood apart from the other. Such excuses are too weak to be taken seriously and are included here merely for the sake of completeness.

There clusters about the central accusation, that the Jews are living witnesses to their crime in the crucifixion, a host of smaller ones, as we have seen in our historical section. Of these, the most serious and the most spectacular is the blood accusation that the Jews murder Christians to use their blood in religious rites. Here again we have available an exhaustive study by a Christian scholar, "The Jew and Human Sacrifice," by Dr. Hermann L. Strack, professor of theology at Berlin University. Dr. Strack's great work, first published in 1891, goes into this revolting charge in great detail, using both Jewish and Christian sources, and examining the evidence at various modern trials for ritual murder.

His conclusion is: "An unbiased Christian inquiring into the matter may point out that several precepts of Judaism are found to form a great obstacle to the thoughts and acts described." These precepts indicate the strong abhorrence for blood in any form, even the blood of "clean" animals, which must be drained out before the meat is eaten. Further, he finds: "Neither the zeal of the experts among the controversialists of Christian faith nor the hate-sharpened



penetration of those proselytes, who wished to show their reliance on the new religion by fanatical enmity toward the Jews, has been able to extract anything out of all those writings which could in the least serve for corroboration of the notion." He quotes at length the decision of Emperor Frederick II with regard to the blood accusation and the Jewish massacre at Fulda in 1247, as well as the bulls of Innocent IV and other Popes, in every case absolving the Jews. The blood accusation is evidently the result merely of hate and ignorance; it is a product of the later Middle Ages, not being known in earlier days, but surviving with remarkable vitality among unlettered people even to the twentieth century.

The most elaborate study, and the most telling defense, on the part of the Catholic Church was the report of Cardinal Ganganelli, later Pope Clement XIV, presented to the Inquisition in 1759, on the immediate occasion of an appeal by some Polish Jews against a blood accusation. The Cardinal decided: "I hope that the Holy See will take some measure to protect the Jews of Poland, as St. Bernard, Gregory IX, and Innocent IV did for the Jews of Germany and France, 'that the name of Christ be not blasphemed' by the Jews, and moreover, that their conversion may not become more difficult." He cites many authorities to prove this. "However much the Jews may be reprov'd for their contumacy and obstinacy, yet we never read that they have been reprov'd by the Holy See for the crime imputed to them in Poland. On the contrary, they have been positively cleared of such an imputation by Gregory IX and Innocent IV; and they were protected with great clemency by Innocent III, following the example of so many of his predecessors. This would

never have happened had they really been guilty of the supposed atrocious crime."

The classic expression of a Jew on the subject is the famous oath of Rabbi Menasseh ben Israel of Amsterdam in 1657, when he pleaded before Oliver Cromwell for the readmission of the Jews into England: "I swear, without any deceit or fraud, by the most high God, the creator of heaven and earth, who promulgated his law to the people of Israel, upon Mt. Sinai, that I never yet to this day saw any such custom among the people of Israel, and that they do not hold any such thing by divine precept of the law, or any ordinance or institution of their wise men, and that they never committed or endeavored such wickedness, and if I lie in this matter, then let all the curses mentioned in Leviticus and Deuteronomy come upon me, let me never see the blessings and consolations of Zion, nor attain to the resurrection of the dead."

Dr. Strack points out that this charge was never proved in a single trial, except by the use of torture, when the accused might confess anything, preferring a speedy death to the interminable agony of the torture chamber. And he shows that this revolting crime was charged against others than Jews in precisely the same terms, when these others were a persecuted and hated minority. The Christians were accused of it by Pliny, and both Justin Martyr and Tertullian defended the young Church against the charge in words which later might have been used by the synagogue. Says Tertullian: "We are called the most villainous of mortals because of the secret practice of killing and eating children. Prove it then, if you believe it; or believe it not, as you have not proved it." In later days the same charge, or a variation

of it, was leveled against the Montanists and other heretical sects by the Church; against the Templars by their enemies; even against Napoleon by the more ignorant and credulous English peasantry.

Along with the horrors of the blood accusation came the fantastic charges of the Host accusation. Time after time, in the more credulous days of the Middle Ages, Jews were accused of stealing the consecrated wafer from some church, beating or cutting it, and otherwise mocking the Christian religion. Usually such charges were accompanied by a tale of a miracle, how the wafer bled or cried out, and led the priests to discover the sacrilege. These stories, obviously, can neither be proved nor disproved. They rest on a false psychological foundation, on the superstition of the more ignorant Christians who expected miracles of the Host. But the Jews could not possibly attach such sanctity to it. They might fear the cross for the excesses which had been committed in its name; but the wafer was to them merely a piece of unleavened bread like that they ate each Passover. They were never in a position to risk insulting the all-powerful Church; but if they had been, and had desired to carry out such insults, they would surely have thought of any other method than stealing and torturing a bit of unleavened bread. No Jew would have dreamed of attaching religious value to the object; but every Christian did so and the more superstitious element saw here the depravity of the revengeful Jews and the miracles of the triumphant Church.

The most recent religious attack on the Jews is a direct negation of all the earlier ones. Formerly the Jews were accused of being the enemies of Christianity or even of being the murderers of Jesus. But a generation arose who

were no longer devout Christians, to whom such a criticism would be meaningless; at the same time, they saw through the unhistorical character of many of these earlier charges. Hence they turned to charge the Jews with being the originators of both Christianity and Judaism, of perverting through these Oriental religions the simple nature-worship of the heroic northern peoples.

The originator of this point of view was the German philosopher, Friedrich Nietzsche. He proclaimed the will to power as his ideal for the superman and considered all the pacific, kindly virtues to be merely symptoms of a "slave-morality." This "slave-morality" he held to be the result of Christianity, and thus the product of the Jews. Destroyed by Roman power, the Jews retaliated by erecting their own morality, to which the proud conquerors had to give at least lip-service. "The Jews performed the miracle of the inversion of values; they led the slave-insurrection in morals. Jesus of Nazareth, this 'Redeemer,' bringing salvation and victory to the poor, the sick, the sinful—was he not really temptation in its most irresistible form, temptation to seize hold of these very Jewish values and new ideals? Under Israel's flag the people have triumphed, or the slaves, or the populace, or the herd, or whatever name you care to give them. The masters have been done away with; the morality of the common man has triumphed."

This very sound criticism, from the standpoint of its author, would be the strongest defense of Judaism for the majority of Christians and moralists. But it has been taken up by the latest school of anti-Semites, one wing of the German National Socialists. Alfred Rosenberg, a prominent leader of this party and one of its national officials, has spon-

sored a new religion to take a place at least equal to that of Catholicism and Protestantism, a neo-Germanic revival. It is hard to tell whether he means it seriously, as the remote ancestors of the present German people did before their conversion in the tenth century. We can hardly imagine that modern Germans would actually accept the existence, much less the divinity of such beings as Thor and Wotan. Perhaps this modern Teutonic religion is intended merely as a symbol of the native idealism of the German folk, a very different idealism from that of the Oriental Jews who first brought Christianity into being. Perhaps in essence this whole creation of a new national religion is merely a further device for the dissemination of anti-Semitism, or even a political weapon to exalt the fascist state at the expense of the independence of the German Christian churches. However that may be, this contradictory religious attack on the Jews is just another example of the fact that emotion is primary in anti-Semitism, and the reasons alleged of very secondary importance.



## CHAPTER XI

### *Economic Aspects*

IN THE RELATIONSHIP between any two groups of human beings, the economic aspect must be always present; often it becomes the predominant fact in their relationship. We need not accept an economic interpretation of history as a whole to recognize the importance of this aspect of the life of an oppressed minority, such as the Jews; or to discern the economic charges against them which appear from time to time in anti-Semitic literature. During the Middle Ages the economic charges began to grow beside the religious ones, until they finally eclipsed them altogether in modern times. This has developed in the course of the first half of this work; but it may be well at this time to note the actual economic status of the Jews as our background.

The early Hebrews were shepherds, nomads of the desert. When they conquered Palestine, they learned agriculture from the previous inhabitants and added farming to the pastoral form of life. They were not then traders; they showed no "racial aptitude" for such activities and had no compulsion to undertake them. Their gradual spread through the Mediterranean world and the later compulsory scattering brought many of them into commerce, though the majority seem to have continued as handicraftsmen. The growth of the feudal system forced them gradually off the land and

into the slowly developing cities; the growth of the guilds drove them out of various lines of handicraft and commerce and into a more restricted field of activity. By the end of the Middle Ages, moneylending and old-clothes dealing were the chief Jewish fields of activity, which Christians left exclusively to them.

Thus it happened that during the entire Middle Ages the Jews were forced to be different and were then despised as being different from Christians. They did not engage in the noble arts of arms or hunting; they were neither tillers of the soil nor artists in handicraft save for occasional exceptions; they were traders and usurers, the least esteemed element of society. Economic study had not advanced far enough to understand that these functions also were valuable to the social organism; they were non-productive, inferior and despised. As late as the twelfth century, however, attacks on the Jews, encyclopedic in their scope, never once mentioned the word "usury." That was a development of the late Middle Ages, when the Crusades and other wars, as well as the growing ostentation of the nobles with their castles and their trains of retainers, made ready money necessary, and moneylending grew rapidly as an important social need. As long as this need was served only by the Jews, it became another reason to despise them.

Finally a new development came about in late medieval and early modern times, the entrance of Christians into these hitherto "Jewish" lines of business. From being despised as a lower order in economic life, the Jews were now hated and feared as competitors. With the relaxation of guild rules and the entrance of the Jews into fields formerly restricted to them, the competition tightened and became a greater

menace on both sides. In the nineteenth century and at present, business competition is the chief economic factor in hatred of the Jews; this becomes increasingly important with the rise of any new national middle class. The Jews, historically, became middle-class workers and traders. In a feudal land they served a necessary function between the great landholding nobles and the down-trodden peasantry. But France and Italy developed a class of traders during the Renaissance, Germany during the seventeenth century, Poland during the nineteenth. In every case the middle class became the competitor and hence the enemy of the Jews. Polish anti-Semitism worked through an economic boycott; witness also the same middle-class movement in Germany.

In such countries as these the aristocracy represents the old type of anti-Semitism, contempt of the Jews as a lower social order. Bismarck felt no hatred of the Jews, only contempt; he would use a Jewish banker if it served his turn, or a Jewish politician. The Jew was tolerated as long as he kept his place in the useful middle-class professions and made no pretensions to aristocracy. But a Hitler feels direct personal hatred of the Jews because they are the personal competitors of his own group. His followers, like the Jews, belong to the middle class; they are artisans, traders, physicians, lawyers. So the economic struggle sharpens and motivates any anti-Semitism which they may already feel on religious or racial grounds.

The Jews are prevailingly town dwellers, owing to historic conditions which we have already discussed; they are chiefly middle class for the same reasons. They include very few farmers, a much smaller proportion of hand workers than the non-Jews and practically no aristocrats. That applies in

their proportion to the general population; actually, a considerable number of Jews are laborers. In Prussia, in 1925, some 29 per cent of the Jews in gainful occupations were so recorded, much less than the proportion of non-Jews but still an important group. In the United States the Jews have built up the needle trades, not only as manufacturers but also as workers; the Jewish unions of needle workers include hundreds of thousands of members, and represent an active and progressive element in the world of labor.

As middlemen, artists and professionals, the Jews serve indeed a useful purpose in society. Surely those who compete with them for the same positions would not hesitate to affirm this. The distributor of goods in the present system serves as needed a function and serves it quite as well as the producer or transformer of them. In the feudal system the tradesman may have seemed outside the economic order—though he was badly needed even then—but in modern capitalism he is really the “middle man,” at the center of the system. In the Russian Communist plan, on the other hand, the petty bourgeoisie, which included most of the Jews, were declassed and have been rapidly transformed into farmers and hand workers. This fact, together with the need for labor of every kind in Soviet Russia, has completely abolished the economic type of anti-Semitism in that country. Meanwhile, the government is suppressing any overt movement of anti-Semitism as counter-revolution.

Now let us glance at the specific charges against the Jews in the light of this analysis. They have been accused since the twelfth century of being naturally inclined toward usury. Shylock was a usurer; the gentiles of Shakespeare's drama all

make that one of the reasons for despising him, though a secondary one to the fact that he was a "heathen Jew," bloodthirsty as well as covetous. We must remember that the gentiles in the play were also traders, dealing in goods for a profit, though not lending money at interest. The similarity of the two was slow in being perceived by the men of the Renaissance. They were even slower to grasp the distinction between loans for necessities, which had been the usual type during the early Middle Ages, and the loaning of money as business capital, which became the chief function of the moneylender or banker in later times.

The bad odor of usury in the Middle Ages was due to two causes, a religious and an economic one. The religious cause was the biblical and later the Church prohibition of lending at interest, which thus was forbidden to Christians and developed as a Jewish enterprise. The Jews were allowed to receive interest from non-Jews, though not from their fellows, according to Deuteronomy 23:19 and 20. So the Church turned that unsavory business over to them, and they, without other means of support, needing money badly to pay their exorbitant taxes, and finding money the most portable type of possession in times of turmoil or exile, adopted usury in considerable numbers. Not all Jews were pawnbrokers or moneylenders by any means; but most of the people in that field were Jews.

The economic reason for hating usurers lay in the fact that early loans were for use, not for profit. The peasant who borrowed to buy food, the lord who needed money to outfit himself and his men for a Crusade, spent the money and had nothing left but a troublesome debt. No wonder they felt great bitterness toward the man who had advanced the capi-



tal and asked for its return with the high interest allowed in that day. Partnership in business had always been permitted the man who advanced the money for the business, but what we today call "banking" had not yet come into being. But pawnbroking and moneylending grew into banking; Christians entered the field in competition with the Jews. With all that, the odium of usury continued to rest on the Jews as a remnant of their medieval compulsion and their arrival in the field earlier than their Christian competitors.

If moneylending gave the Jews the reputation of being grasping and over-shrewd, the violation of guild rules brought them the accusation of being dishonest and unfair in business. The regulations of the guilds had been very strict, imposing many limitations on trading; as soon as the Jews entered these fields in early modern times, they had no interest in the previous standards and no group of customers apportioned in advance, as the old masters of the guilds. Hence, they actually were guilty in many cases of the charges which now seem to us trivial enough.

They were accused of attracting customers away from others, whether by advertising or soliciting directly; of underselling their competitors rather than upholding the "fair price" set by the guilds; of receiving and reselling stolen goods. Certainly, the first two offenses are characteristic of all modern business, where every man tries to out-advertise and undersell his competitors. Certainly also the last offense was committed by Jews, but not infrequently by unethical Christians. There has never been any proof that it, together with more recent accusations of arson and fraudulent bankruptcy, is any more true of one group than of the other. They are the crimes of commerce and are committed by those of

criminal tendencies who happen to engage in trade. As James W. Parkes remarks: "It is reasonable to find the explanation in the situation of the Jewish competitor, rather than in the inherent wickedness of the Jew."

A further charge is that the Jews are non-producers, parasites on the economic order; that they exploit the ignorant, hard-working gentiles by their clever tricks in business. This is distinctly a modern charge, with few analogies in the earlier periods. According to economists this distinction between producers and non-producers is an unreal one, as both serve an equal, though different, need in the present system of production and distribution. The farmer, miner, and manufacturer could neither distribute their own products nor supply their own needs except for the middlemen, the wholesalers, retailers, advertisers, railroads, and the like. The banker, lawyer, and newspaperman are equally a part of the organization and conduct of business; each of them has his economic value, so long as we regard the capitalist economy. The criticisms that might be made from the communist point of view are beside the point, as these charges against the Jews as parasites are not communist charges, but those of members of the present order, often of competitors who are themselves middlemen.

The fact is that Jews have frequently found themselves in most disagreeable and dangerous economic positions. In the Middle Ages they were often appointed tax collectors. Such an office drew upon them the odium always attached to that duty in a day when taxes were not fixed, but a maximum had to be wrung out of a poverty-stricken people for the spendthrift lord. In Poland they were often agents for the nobles in conducting their estates; in Russia they were frequently

the innkeepers and liquor dealers. In all these cases, the profit was not made by the Jews, who won a very scanty living out of the business; the Jew earned the hate, but the lord got the rent or the taxes. Thus the Cossack rebellion against the Polish lords in 1648 was directed also against the Jews, as the agents of the lords in conducting their estates. The Russian imperial commission to investigate the liquor traffic actually reported in 1809 that this national disgrace was by no means the fault of the Jews: "It is obvious," they said, "that the root of the evil is not to be found with the saloon keepers, but in the right of distilling, which constitutes the prerogative of the squires and their main source of income." When the Jews were expelled from this business in 1894 the peasants continued to drink as much as ever; they drank because they were poor and miserable and untaught, not in the least because it was a Jew who sold them liquor.

The middlemen, particularly the agents and factors for great landholders, were, in many cases, the exploiters of the peasants. But Jews, like other men, simply take the best economic rôle they can in society. Barred from the land historically, they are prevailing an urban people. However, in our day, in spite of the universal drift toward the cities in industrialized nations, a limited number of Jews are reversing this trend and are becoming farmers in such widely separated lands as Argentina, Russia, America, and Palestine.

On the whole, Jews resemble gentiles in drifting into the best trade or profession that is open to them. In many cases, they have a disproportionate number in some particular line. This is particularly true of the liberal professions, journalism, medicine, law, and the like. During the nineteenth century, when the aristocracy despised these professions, and the

middle class had hardly grown to the point of entering them in large numbers, the Jews found them the highest economic and social positions available. They could not enter the army, the church or government service; they were not wealthy landowners or old-time gentry. But they had a strong tradition of learning, especially in the fields of medicine and law, and they did not find it too difficult to become physicians and lawyers. So, as in Germany, their membership in these professions was considerably higher than their percentage in the general population, and somewhat higher than their proportion of the urban population, from which these professions are chiefly recruited. For the same reason they are found on the stage, in the fields of literature and music, in every branch where free competition prevails and where the Jew can make his own way. In Tsarist Russia this provided a special advantage, as members of the liberal professions might live wherever they wished and were not forced into the poverty-stricken and crowded Pale of Settlement.

But this search for freedom and for a livelihood brought a reaction. The gentiles in time also crowded into the "white collar" class. The competition became even keener and even aristocrats saw their sons struggling with children of the middle class for success in these fields. Thus the outcry against Jews for monopolizing the medical profession in Nazi Germany was simply a complaint of their rivals, arriving on the scene a little later and finding many Jewish practitioners already at work, some of them recognized as leaders of the profession.

The complaint against Jews in journalism is probably cut from the same cloth. Added to this is the fact that these Jewish newspaper men are frequently liberals, so that the

political element as well as the economic enters in. Of course, it is quite untrue that the Jews control the press in any single country in the world. They are often writers, seldom editors, still more seldom newspaper owners and controllers of opinion. The charge would be fantastic if it were not so often seriously urged. And if it were true, it would seem to be no adverse criticism, so long as the newspapers were conducted without dishonest or biased interpretation of the news, or so long as the Jewish journalists, like the gentile, were ranged in different political and economic camps. This complaint, however, is given an unfavorable slant because it is so often brought forth by anti-Semites in connection with their accusation of a world Jewish conspiracy. In this connection, such a Jewish control of the press would be simply another means for the Jews to dominate the world.

The same applies to another false statement, that Jews have a monopoly of the world's supply of gold. As Congressman Louis T. McFadden put it in a speech before the House of Representatives of the United States: "The gentiles have the paper, while the Jews have the gold and lawful money." Here we are dealing with the medieval tradition that all Jews are moneylenders; with legends of the Rothschild family and its fabulous influence on national policies; with Shylock, the Jew of Malta and the rest of that unsavory crew: not for one moment with the actual situation in any country in the world today. The facts are these: First, the gold supply of the world today is dominated by governments, not by bankers. Of these, the United States and France have the largest gold reserves, and these are not Jewish nations, even though the Secretary of the Treasury in the former nation happens to be a Jew, serving under a gentile President who



dominates the national policy. Second, the Jews today are a minor factor in the banking world. It would be no disgrace if there were many important Jewish bankers; but the fact is that there are very few. The Rothschild family no longer dominates national loans, for these are now raised by general subscription; the great Rothschild fortune is now conservative, and has been far outstripped by a number of new commercial fortunes, most of the larger ones developed and controlled by non-Jews. In the United States only one private bank of great importance is owned by Jews—Kuhn, Loeb and Company, a firm far outranked by the non-Jewish house of J. P. Morgan.

A recent study of the directors of New York banking houses shows that in nineteen of the largest banks, with 420 directors, only 30 are Jews, that is, 7 per cent in a city where the Jews are 30 per cent of the population. The New York Jews do not even have their numerical proportion of bank directors. The total amount of foreign loans outstanding in New York on March 1, 1935, was \$7,621,100,000. Of this amount just 7.15 per cent was floated by Jewish bankers, the so-called "international money masters."

The greatest fortunes of modern industry, such as those of Ford, DuPont, Carnegie and Rockefeller, are not in the possession of Jews. The wealthy Jews—and there are a number—are all in the second rank. The great scandals of modern business are as often the result of the practices of non-Jews as of Jews; neither Kreuger, nor Insull, nor Stavisky was Jewish, in spite of many attempts to brand them as such. On the other hand, the old proverb, "Rich as a Jew," does not apply today, nor did it ever accurately describe the great masses of Jews. The few outstanding Jewish

financiers were seldom the equals in wealth of the great lords of land or the national leaders of industry and finance, though occasionally a Jew penetrated into the select circle. The masses of Jews have always been as poor or poorer than the masses of Christians. The many deprivations imposed by the law and the Church; the despoiling by the mob; the limitations on residence and occupation; the special taxes which weighted them down—all these made the Jew work doubly for a meager livelihood.

Today the Jewish masses of Poland are practically starving, with only a few who are even moderately comfortable. The small shopkeeper ekes out a precarious existence, less secure and not always more profitable than that of the laborer. The fact that the Jews have a higher percentage of such small shopkeepers and a lower percentage of laborers than most other peoples is no indication of wealth or power. The charge of dominating the gold supply, then, would not be criminal even if it were true; but it has hardly the shadow of fact behind it.

Far more consideration and respectful attention must be given to the keen analysis and vast erudition with which Werner Sombart examines the Jewish rôle in modern capitalism in his book, "The Jews and Economic Life." Sombart is professor of economics in the University of Berlin, an important figure in the history of economics; as an anti-Semite he stands beside Chamberlain for his scholarship and his influence. Sombart's charges must be taken seriously and his facts considered in detail. Of course, even here prejudice is an element; even an economist or a historian may have his dislikes and search for reasons to justify them.

Sombart first explains the rôle of the Jews in the develop-

ment of the modern system of capitalism; because of his pre-occupation with the subject, he gives the Jews a far more pervasive and important part than other historians of economic life—more, in fact, than he himself has done in other works. The Jews had a significant part, he tells us, in the beginnings of finance and banking, the colonial system, the organization of the modern state and the commercial type of thinking which is characteristic of the modern world. Naturally, individual cases he cites are ordinarily correct, though he may well give an exaggerated view of the whole. There were very few Jews in western Europe in the sixteenth century; only a small minority of them were actually wealthy financiers and agents of monarchs. Joseph Jacobs has computed that in eighteenth-century England the Jews may have controlled as much as one-eighth of the foreign commerce; but that foreign commerce was only a small part of the total English trade, so that the Jewish share in the total business of the country was only a half of one per cent. Their chief rôle, he concludes, "consisted in promoting international trade and supplying, in a relatively large measure, the bullion that balanced it." In particular, they were not associated with early invention or manufacture, which set the peculiar form of modern capitalism after the industrial revolution, but only with the founding of the finance capitalism which preceded it; and in this their part may easily be overemphasized. Still it is an important matter that some Jews, together with a larger number of non-Jews, had a part in the transition of Europe from feudalism to the modern system as we know it.

But it is with regard to the reasons for this Jewish inclination to capitalism that most critics would disagree with Sombart. He gives a particular rôle to the Jewish race as

being specially motivated toward handling money and dealing in wealth; he believes thoroughly in the existence of a Jewish race. It is true, he does not accept Chamberlain's theory of pure races; but he states that it does not matter for his purpose whether or not the Jewish race is pure, whether it is originally Semite or Hittite; the important point to him is this: "that an Oriental people had been thrust among northern peoples and had entered into a cultural relationship with them." Actually, though without the extravagant assertions of many race theorists, this viewpoint gives exactly the same conclusion, that the Jews are different by race, by heredity, by biological makeup, from the Germans and other north European peoples.

Sombart goes on to prove that the Jewish religion furnishes a specially favorable background for the capitalistic spirit; that the Jews had always looked longingly toward the goods of this world; that their characteristic virtues were those which later became capitalistic, such as industry and thrift; that they regulated every act of life by religion and gave inordinate attention to the religious law. Their lives were thus orderly, God-fearing, rational—all of which inclined away from the chivalric or mystical ideals and toward the ideal of the developing capitalism.

Finally Sombart indicates the conditions in environment which prepared the Jews to take part in the early capitalism of the Renaissance period: that they lived in cities, that they were not rooted in the soil, that they were accustomed to handling wealth in abstract form, that they had international commercial alliances. His theory, then, is that the Jews by race, religion, and opportunity were ideally fitted for the doubtful rôle of pioneers of capitalism.

Now all this is both interesting and important. We shall discuss the racial theory in a special chapter; we need hardly go into it here. But it is interesting that in a later book, "The Quintessence of Capitalism," Sombart betrays both his racial and religious theories and shows their weakness. In discussing the typical capitalistic nations he points to three: the Jews, the Florentines of the fourteenth century, the Scotch of the eighteenth. Now, obviously, there is no racial relationship whatever among the three; racially, the Florentines are most closely connected with other Italians, the Scotch with the Irish and the English. But there is an environmental factor in common: all three were small peoples, without military power, who had to find some other way to success. Florence could compete with Venice and Genoa; Scotland with England; the Jews with other nations everywhere, only by means of hard work, cleverness at a bargain and a stored-up reserve of wealth. So the three became commercial peoples par excellence, not because of their very different racial backgrounds but because of their similar environmental influence.

Similarly, Sombart takes Benjamin Franklin as typical of the middle-class virtues, which in other places he ascribes to the Jews. Perhaps he is right in both instances, but only by relinquishing both the racial and religious theories; for Franklin and the Yankees he represents were neither of Jewish race nor followers of the Jewish religion. In his later book he even states that "Judaism, Catholicism and Protestantism all expressed themselves alike on those points which are vital for our problem." Where, then, lies the special responsibility or special guilt of Judaism? In a greater emphasis on the commercial virtues, he replies. Their atti-



tude toward riches was "a shade more favorable than that of the schoolmen"; the rationalization of life is "preached more thoroughly in Judaism"; Jewish ethics took wealth into consideration a thousand years earlier than Christian ethics—hence the Jews were predisposed toward capitalism. "When the capitalistic era in modern history commenced, the Jews, thanks to their religion, had undergone a more thorough and longer training for it than any Christian people."

But as Joseph Jacobs remarks, in his "Jewish Contributions to Civilization": "As regards the contention that the Jewish religion regards good works as only the means of obtaining celestial profits, it is to be observed that this is a natural and human aspect of all the religions of civilization. Everybody knows how it is emphasized in Islam, and yet Mohammedans have not shown any particular genius for commerce or finance. But in Christianity itself the whole doctrine of justification by works is based upon the same conception, and what is Dante's 'Divina Commedia' but a sublime and continuous exemplification of the connection of sublunary goodness and badness with supernal rewards and punishments?"

Most people would accept this description of the Jewish religion without any invidious attitude. The Jews were, for the most part, a quiet, reasonable, sober, law-abiding folk. They were far from the display and brutality of chivalry by force of circumstances as much as by their religion. In fact, Christianity also was strongly opposed in theory to the violence of the feudal knights and the cruelty of the feudal system to the lower orders. As Leroy-Beaulieu, the economist, points out in "Israel Among the Nations," the Jewish ideal was neither chivalrous nor mystical, but bourgeois. Its object

is the Messianic reign on earth, a reign of justice and peace, rather than an other-worldly ideal of a heaven beyond the skies. If such an ideal is more at home in the commercial civilization of the present day than in the turbulent times of the Middle Ages, then the progress of the nations is responsible and the Jews are so far fortunate. But that does not make Judaism responsible for monopoly, self-seeking, greed, or the heartless mechanization of modern capitalism.

It merely means that the Jews, like other peoples, were ready for the next step in social development and were somewhat more ready than many of them. But this is altogether a matter of circumstances, of environment. It is due to the laws which forced the Jew into the rôle of moneylender, to the Church and lords who taxed him so heavily, to the mobs which made his life precarious that he yearned for a little portable property which he might carry away in time of danger. It is due to the industry and thrift of the middle class in general and to the fact that the Jews were practically all members of this class with a minimum of lords or peasants. It is most of all due to the abnormal life of the minority which was forced to make its way by the few means left available to its hated members.

The final charge in the study of the economic aspects of anti-Semitism is that the Jews are by nature radicals, leading the subversive movements for the destruction of the present order. Now it is true that Jews are found in conspicuous positions in many radical and liberal groups. Karl Marx was the founder of modern socialism at the same time that Benjamin Disraeli was the leader of the Conservative party of Great Britain; both were baptized in early childhood and grew up without Jewish influence. Individual Jews have

belonged to every party, conservative or radical, except those which were openly anti-Semitic in their policies and would not accept Jewish members.

Probably the majority of Jews have belonged to the more liberal and even radical parties, for they were less welcome in conservative circles in every nation of Europe except Great Britain. The conservative parties were largely clerical, militaristic, and anti-Semitic, so that the Jews were practically forced into democratic or socialistic groups, which offered them equality and desired their membership. How could a Jew be a conservative in the France of the Dreyfus case, or in the Germany of Stöcker? Thus the parties which welcomed the Jews and which defended their rights to citizenship attracted them. In the United States and Great Britain, which have no anti-Semitic planks in their conservative parties, a great number of Jews are Republicans and Conservatives respectively.

Meanwhile the advocates of this theory are guilty of actual misrepresentation in their constant claims that every Jew is a communist and every communist a Jew. Marx was a Jew, but Lenin was not, nor most of his immediate group, with the single prominent exception of Leon Trotsky. Now that Trotsky has been exiled, Stalin, a non-Jew, is dictator of Russia; the only important Jew in his administration is the foreign minister, Litvinoff. The Jews were naturally ranged against the Tsarist government, which was for a century and a half their bitter enemy; but only a few of them were actually among the communist leaders. Now that the Soviet régime is becoming solidified, the Russian Jews have settled down as loyal citizens in an effort to become assimilated to the communist system. In every country some Jews

are part of the radical movements, some are upholders of the *status quo*, and still others, the vast majority, are ordinarily found in parties inclining toward a mild liberalism.

As a matter of fact, most of the Jews follow their personal or class interests rather than the general welfare of the Jewish people in their political and economic opinions. If they happen to be radicals, they may even favor the destruction of the Jewish religion and the assimilation of the Jewish people. If they are themselves wealthy they defend the established order, even though they realize its injustice to the poorer Jews or to the Jewish people as a whole.

Again we find that characteristics of a few Jews are ascribed to the entire people, if they will make it unpopular, or if its enemies can utilize them in their propaganda. We find that characteristics which would be considered worthy in any other group, like the sobriety and reason of which Sombart speaks, or the brilliant iconoclasm of the radicals, become dangerous when they are discovered among the Jews by anti-Semites. The examination of these many charges, the weighing them for truth and falsehood, all mean nothing when prejudice and hatred seek their prey.

## CHAPTER XII

### *The Myth of a World Conspiracy*

THESE MANY ATTACKS against the Jew, motivated by prejudice, shaped by individual theory or local circumstances, are summed up in a gigantic libel that the Jews are engaged in a world conspiracy. The remarkable longevity of the Jewish people, their conspicuousness in modern times, their occasional great men, their connection with the religion of the Western world, all these elements constitute a mystery which confronts historians and social scientists no less than politicians. The religious, economic, professional, and personal aspects of anti-Jewish prejudice lead in many different directions and present no solution, even to the anti-Semite.

But in our own time such a solution has been presented, accounting for Jewish loyalty and virtues no less than for Jewish faults and crimes. It is the myth of a world conspiracy, that this little people from its very origin has nourished a plot to rule the world, and that this plot may be traced in the various fields of Jewish activity. Jewish bankers, Jewish communists, Jewish artists, even Jewish teachers of religion are all factors in this conspiracy to destroy the gentile nations and give over the hegemony of the world to Judah. Wars and revolutions, treaties and laws, women's fashions and motion-picture productions—whatever seems objectionable to any person or group—can be included as parts of this



conspiracy and a deliberate influence of destruction implanted by the Jews in gentile society.

But such a conspiracy requires that some sort of evidence be produced. In the nature of things, world movements produce evidence of their existence. Hence the delight in anti-Semitic circles when in 1905 a Russian priest named Serge Nilus printed a little pamphlet called "The Protocols of the Elders of Zion," purporting to be the minutes of a series of secret meetings of the conspirators themselves. This book is one of the important historic forgeries, of which many medieval examples will occur to any reader of history. But such forgeries are rare in modern times, when critics read documents with a view to their origin and contents, not merely the assertions of their publishers. This one could have appeared only in an uncritical, medieval country such as Tsarist Russia; it could have been produced only by the Black Hundreds, the reactionary and anti-Semitic party of that backward land. The amazing fact remains that a book of this character and origin should have become a sort of Bible for the anti-Semites, printed by the hundreds of thousands in many translations and even falsified adaptations, and circulated in such modern, critical countries as Germany, England, and the United States.

The Protocols, as they lie before me in an American edition of 1920, contain twenty-four sections or protocols and cover sixty-three pages. They are a series of dull and disjointed tirades, in which one type of villainy after another is openly disclosed. No hint is given of apology or humane sentiments; here are brutality and cunning blatant and boastful. Their philosophy is a curious and unexpected one; it is neither the commercial outlook of a banker nor the theoretical

approach of a thinker; it is simply a plea for autocracy, such as might not be uttered by a single sane Jew in the world today, but was perfectly appropriate in the mouth of the priest and mystic Nilus, or in the friends of the Russian autocracy, which he represented. Here the people are nothing; democracy a clever lie; rule by one man is necessary and that rule is to be enforced by power and cunning at any cost. Terrorism is a legitimate and necessary tool. Deception and treachery are taken for granted. Even murder on large scale or small is not merely condoned but accepted as normal procedure. No group of people in the world could have produced such a conspiracy; only one group in modern times could even have imagined it and brought forth such a book.

We must note, what is often overlooked in this connection, that the Protocols were not given out as an independent work, but simply as an appendix of confirmatory material for Nilus's large effort, "The Great in the Little," in its second edition, published in 1905. The first edition of 1901 did not include them, although the claim is generally made that they were discovered in 1897. Nobody ever has accounted for their suppression during this intervening period, if they were actually known before. The book itself, which throws light on the original meaning of the Protocols for Nilus and his readers, is a mystical work, with the rather amazing subtitle, "The Advent of the Anti-Christ and the Rule of the Devil on Earth Are Near." It tells how "secret after secret was revealed to my human weakness, secrets in which God's power became manifest . . . that before the establishment of the kingdom of truth (through the second coming of Christ) under a new sky and on a new earth, the Anti-Christ must come—hailed by the Jews as Messiah and by the

world as sovereign of the globe." "The Jews achieve the conquest of the world by means of the artfulness of the Symbolical Serpent." To bolster up this point of view, that of the Russian Orthodox Church in its defense of autocracy, the Protocols were first printed.

Who was this Serge Nilus, the man whose name appears on the first edition of the notorious Protocols? Herman Bernstein, who has rendered great service in his "Truth About the Protocols of Zion," answers this question together with many others in his reprinting of most of the original material of the Protocols and their various sources. One of his reprints is an article from a Paris newspaper of 1921 by Count A. M. du Chayla, who knew Nilus for some months during 1909 at the Russian monastery, Optina Pustina. He describes him at the time as "a man of about 45, a true Russian type, big and broad, with a gray beard and deep blue eyes." He had an excellent education but his career had been a checkered one. "His tumultuous character and capricious temperament" had caused his dismissal from the Ministry of Justice and had prevented his proposed appointment as confessor of the royal family some years before. He tried to convince his French friend of the authenticity of the Protocols—but he told two different stories of their origin and their transmission into his hands! He even showed the original, "written in French in several handwritings, and even with different inks." "The reason for this," explained Nilus, "is that at the sessions of the Kahal different persons filled the duties of Secretary."

When the Frenchman remained unconvinced, Nilus delivered his final blow. "He brought in a small chest which he called the museum of the Anti-Christ. I saw amidst in-

describable disorder a number of objects made of rubber, some household articles, insignia of technical schools, etc. On each of these objects his hallucination showed him the 'seal of the Anti-Christ' in the guise of a triangle or a pair of crossed triangles. It was enough for any object to bear on it a figure resembling somewhat a triangle for his inflamed imagination to see in it the sign of the Anti-Christ and the seal of the Wise Men of Zion." The interest he attached to these trademarks and insignia was of course due to the fact that the double triangle, known as the Magen David, or shield of David, is often seen in the modern synagogue or as a decoration on various Jewish religious objects.

Critics at once began to examine the monk's work and its form, not to disprove the fantastic charges, but primarily to discover the source of the forgery. It appeared in two old books which deserve a word in passing. The secret meeting of Jewish conspirators appears in a novel, "Biarritz," written by Hermann Goedsche in 1868. This Goedsche was a popular writer of "thrillers" in Germany at that time, who used the pseudonym of Sir John Radcliffe. While he was undoubtedly an anti-Semite, the real purpose of his works was simply cheap popular entertainment. In this book he devotes one short chapter to a meeting of the princes of the twelve tribes of Israel every hundred years in the Jewish cemetery in Prague; this particular meeting was supposed to have taken place in 1860. Of course, the twelve tribes have not existed since the year 722 before the common era, when ten of the tribes were destroyed by Sargon the Assyrian. But in a purely imaginative work we may well pass this over, and merely note that the twelve princes reported on their activities of the preceding century and outlined plans for the hundred

years to come. Some eighteen years later Goedsche, under his pseudonym, published a purported speech of a rabbi which contained this same material concerning the conspiracy of Israel.

If the form of the conspiracy came from Goedsche, the actual content of it was of higher origin. The parallel column makes plain that the greater part of the Protocols are merely copied or slightly adapted from a French pamphlet of 1864, entitled "Dialogue in Hell between Macchiavelli and Montesquieu, or the Policy of Macchiavelli in the 19th Century." The author, who was subsequently jailed for the political libel, was Maurice Joly, a French attorney, and the book was at once recognized as a satire on the reigning Emperor Napoleon III. Montesquieu defends democracy against Macchiavelli, who in turn defends the policies of Napoleon, the suppression of liberty, the betrayal of former supporters and the like. But, while this work is a brilliant satire, the Protocols have put the same words into the mouth of a Jewish conspirator as sober fact.

The legal and political tactics properly applied to Napoleon III give an odd effect when they are spoken by a rabbi, to whom they do not in the least apply. Napoleon actually did assess heavy taxes on land in order to ruin the old aristocracy who opposed him. At the same period occurred a series of financial scandals and a rising movement on the part of labor, both of which have a place in Joly's satire and are quite strange in the Protocols. Napoleon was well known to be contemplating a war to divert the French from internal problems; in 1870 he actually entered into the war with Prussia which destroyed him. This plot for a "general war," then, appears in the Protocols, copied from Joly. But the



German version of the Protocols, by Gottfried zur Beek, goes so far as to turn this specifically into the "World War," a forgery on a forgery, and thereby proves to readers who do not know Russian, that the statesmen and generals of 1914 were merely obeying orders worked out as early as 1897 by the secret Jewish rulers!

The apologists for the Protocols have always been ready with their rebuttals. When the Joly pamphlet was discovered, they replied that Maurice Joly was really a converted Jew by the name of Moses Joel, and that he had advance knowledge of the conspiracy begun by King Solomon so long ago, which was to culminate at the First Zionist Congress of Basel in 1897. The official autobiography of Joly in the library of the Parisian Bar Association disproves such a contention; he was a member of an old Catholic family, related to the provincial nobility; both his father and grandfather were high officials. This incident is of no importance in itself; but it does illustrate the reckless type of assertions constantly made under the impulse of powerful emotions such as prejudice and hate.

There is also an element in the Nilus' pamphlet which is of Russian origin. For example, the statement that the time of turmoil and disorder has come. Such a statement would not have applied to the supposed date, 1897, but was certainly true in the Russia of 1905, just after the Japanese war, when an abortive revolution was averted by the concession of a Duma and the restless country was drenched in the blood of radicals and Jews. Another Russian reference is contained in the threat to depose the absolute ruler of the world, if he should prove a weakling, at the demand of the "elders of Zion." Such a plot was developed in court circles in 1905

to replace the feeble Nicholas II with his stronger brother, Michael, and it seems that the Tsar had actually signed a secret document of abdication on October 28, 1905, which he withdrew two days later when he issued a call for an elective Duma.

The Jewish plot to overthrow all existing governments, debauch and ruin all the great gentile nations, use the Freemasons (an old boggy surviving from the times of the French Revolution) as their tools, and rule the world through an absolute autocrat of the House of David—all this is a curious work of fancy into which any event, old or new, can be incorporated as further confirmation. The documents were revised for German consumption so as to include the World War, League of Nations and, by implication, the Treaty of Versailles. They were further revised for publication in English, by omitting attacks on the commercialism and democracy of Great Britain and America and minimizing the part of the Freemasons.

These Protocols and the books based on them have had amazing circulation and vast influence. In the United States, the articles fathered and later retracted by Henry Ford were merely a local application of such documents. But in spite of the retraction these articles are still being printed in Europe, using Mr. Ford's honored name to insure respect and confidence. In England a series of articles in the London "Morning Post" was circulated in book form as "The Cause of World Unrest." In Germany the works of Theodor Fritsch, Alfred Rosenberg and Gottfried zur Beek were circulated in the hundreds of thousands, and various similar translations and independent works appeared in Poland, Austria, South Africa, practically the world over.

Benjamin W. Segel, who made an exhaustive critical study of the Protocols, states that "no recent book of world literature can even in a slight degree compare with the circulation of the Protocols." The tremendous influence, the ready acceptance of such a fantasy can only mean that it served an important psychological function. It ministered to the need to find a villain for the sorrows and pains of the world. People refuse to blame themselves for their troubles; very few are able to examine scientifically the complex facts of social and economic life. So every political movement tends to find some evil force in the form of an individual or group who can act as a scapegoat. The pseudo-evidence of the Protocols was ready for this purpose. Political leaders who knew their falsity, religious fanatics who were ready to believe anything of the enemies of Christ, convinced anti-Semites and subtle reactionaries turned to the Protocols for evidence of a world conspiracy of the Jews.

The accounts given by the sponsors of the Protocols of their origin and nature are so contradictory as alone to expose their entire claims to reality. As Segel remarks, putting these various claims together: "Just as Homer was simultaneously born in seven towns, so Nilus translated the Protocols from the French and at the same time from the Hebrew language. The Protocols came into existence both at the Zionist Congress in Basel in 1897, and in 1901 in Paris as a compilation of lectures by students. They were stolen by a noblewoman from Tschernigov, from a high Masonic dignitary, and at the same time by the wife or sweetheart of this high official from her husband. This lady then surrendered them to Alexis Nikolajevitch Suchotin, the friend of Nilus, at the same time the very same friend misappropriated

them from an extensive book with protocols or notes about lectures, which he had found in the Zionist iron vault, that was hidden in France, but at the same time in Alsace or Switzerland. Simultaneously they were stolen from Herzl's apartment in Vienna and from the secret vaults of the Mizraim lodge (of Masons). They were entrusted to Nilus both in the year 1897 by the Russian spy and in the year 1901 by Suchotin. At the same time, in the year 1897, they were sent by Ratchkowski from Paris to the Russian Minister of the Interior, who surrendered the French manuscript, a translation from the Hebrew language, to Nilus."

The last account seems the nearest the truth. It seems most probable that the copies from Joly and Goedsche were made in Paris by members of the Russian secret police, and that Ratchkowski, their head, sent either the material for the Protocols or even their completed form to his superiors in Russia before 1905. They then used the material to influence the Tsar, as Segel maintains, or as propaganda among the Black Hundreds. From this background of spies and forgers emerged the documents purporting to prove a world conspiracy of the Jews!

Bernstein has a slightly different theory for which he gives a weight of evidence. He maintains that the French text was sent to Russia as early as 1895 in order to influence the Tsar personally against the Jews and the liberals. As he says: "The Protocols were concocted not with the purpose of impressing statesmen, theologians or even public opinion; they were drawn up in France and published in Russia to influence and inflame a feeble-minded person whose spirit was already filled with hatred of the Jew. That person was none other than Tsar Nicholas II." Bernstein reprints an

affidavit by Philip Stepanov, a Russian émigré in France, in which he told in 1927 that he had been shown a copy of the Protocols in Russia in the year 1895 by their "discoverer," Sukhotin. This disproves at once any connection with the first Zionist Congress, which was held in 1897. But it does not explain why the document was held in manuscript for ten years before being given to the world as a part of the Black Hundred campaign of slander and vilification.

Mr. Bernstein tells also of a different Russian version by G. Butmi, which appeared in 1906 and 1907, bearing the title, "Protocols Taken Out of the Secret Depositories of the Main Office of Zion (Extracts from Ancient and Modern Protocols of the Sages of Zion of the Universal Organization of Freemasons)." His claim was that "the aforesaid political plan was conceived 929 years before the birth of Christ. It was invented by Solomon and the Judean sages in theory." The mystical element evidently masked the forgery to its own sponsors, who assert constantly that they need not prove the authenticity of their documents, but only to read them.

The falsity of the charges in the Protocols has been proved in various lawsuits in different parts of the world. In 1926 Aaron Sapiro sued Henry Ford in Detroit for slanders against him in the "Dearborn Independent." While the case was a personal one, the charges against the Jewish people, based on the Protocols, entered in; the trial was finally settled out of court by the apology and retraction of Mr. Ford. In June of 1934 a suit was brought by members of the Jewish community of Johannesburg, South Africa, against a party organ of the Grayshirts, the local anti-Semitic organization. The newspaper had based its charges largely on the Protocols,



which it claimed had been proved to be authentic. The case of the plaintiffs, then, rested on their attack against the Protocols. In this they were aided by the testimony of Nahum Sokolow, the president of the World Zionist Organization and one of its founders at the Basel Congress of 1897. Dr. Sokolow, who is the leading historian of the Zionist movement as well as an active figure in its operations from the beginning, was able to demonstrate of his own knowledge and from other evidence that that meeting had been public, that its proceedings had been published in the press at the time and later, that—in short—the attempt to link up a world Jewish conspiracy with the effort to reorganize a scattered and broken people and to resettle a part of them in their original homeland was plainly untrue and even ridiculous. A judgment was given the Jewish community and the newspaper forced to print a full retraction of its charges. The court decision included the following sentence: "The Protocols are an impudent forgery, obviously for the purpose of anti-Jewish propaganda." The leader in this slander was later tried on criminal charges and condemned to six years in prison for libel.

A second trial on similar grounds was called in Berne, Switzerland, in October 1934, against a National Socialist paper of that city. The Swiss Israelitish Communal Association, together with Dr. Marcus Ehrenpreis, chief rabbi of Sweden, brought this suit with the intention of disproving Nazi claims in a neutral court before the eyes of the world. Here the chief witnesses were two other men who had taken part in the same Congress of 1897, Dr. Ehrenpreis and Dr. Chaim Weizmann, past president of the World Zionist Organization. Former Russian officials testified that the French

material from which the Protocols were adapted was prepared in Paris by a certain Golensky at the orders of General Ratchkowski, head of the Tsarist secret police. Dr. Henri Sliosberg, a former Russian-Jewish jurist, testified that in 1901 he had prepared a report on the Protocols for Minister Witte; he had reported to his chief at that time that they were a forgery, intended as an attack on both Jews and liberals, and particularly against Witte for his financial reforms.

The expert appointed by the Swiss court showed one hundred and seventy quotations from Joly's pamphlet in the Protocols, and characterized the work as belonging to "scandalous literature of the worst species." The trial was then postponed at the request of the defendants to bring further evidence from Germany, as though German belief in the Protocols would possibly influence Russian evidence on their actual origin. The leading Nazi expert was a German, one Lieutenant Colonel Ulrich Fleischhauer, a journalist and professional anti-Semite. He gave a series of speeches for five full days, replete with the most extreme and absurd charges. For example, when it was proved that the first Zionist Congress of 1897 in Basel had been public and its proceedings known to the world, he produced the new theory that a secret meeting had been held at the same time by the B'nai B'rith, who are Freemasons and blood ritualists. And when it was shown that no B'nai B'rith lodge existed in Berne until eight years later, he had still other and more fantastic theories to support his views.

On May 14, 1935, the court brought in its decision. The judge called the famous Protocols "a forgery, a plagiarism, and silly nonsense." He was completely convinced by the

Jewish evidence, backed up by the opinion of the expert whom he had appointed. He remarked that the Nazi experts had not furnished any proof of the genuineness of the Protocols. He thereupon condemned the Protocols as offensive literature within the meaning of the Swiss law, and assessed small fines against the two defendants whom he considered guilty of circulating them.

If further proof were necessary, it would be easy to provide it with regard to the inherent absurdity of the entire theory. The Jews in 1935 number not more than 16,000,000 souls, scattered in every country in the world. Some of these national units are numerically large, but in no land except Palestine do they number over 10 per cent of the population. This maximum exists in Poland, where the Jews are desperately poor and where numerous restrictive measures are constantly enforced against them. The largest number of Jews in any country is in the United States, which contains over 4,250,000 Jews, but these form only 3.6 per cent of the total population.

This little people, less than one per cent of the population of the globe, is for the most part bitterly poor. In Poland and Rumania, which contain some 4,000,000 Jews between them, they are the poorest and most downtrodden of all the people in those lands of poverty and oppression. The poverty of the east European Jew was proverbial even before the World War, which took away what little economic security he possessed in those war-torn lands. So bitter was his misery that few of the Jews of those countries even dreamed of rehabilitation in their native lands; most looked for salvation either to emigration or to mystical dreams of the Messiah. The origin of Zionism itself can be traced directly, not to a

desire to rule, but to the need for escape from intolerable conditions.

This tiny and poverty-stricken people is not even united within itself. All minorities need unity, but it seems the nature of the situation that they are usually disunited and only achieve union under direct attack or when they rise to power. The Poles and Irish have become unified, at least partially, because they have the opportunity for self-determination. The Jews have not become one even during the anti-Semitism of the 1930's, though the Nazi attack has forced many of them closer together. The Jews are disunited in religion, having orthodox, conservative, and liberal synagogues, together with a large number of irreligious and unsynagogued. They belong to various economic classes, from very rich to proletariat; consequently they adhere to different economic philosophies, ranging from conservative nationalism to communism. A handful of German Jews have even backed the National Socialist program; only the unyielding opposition of the party leaders has kept them out of the party itself. The majority of Jews, being middle class, belong to the liberal parties in various countries—but not because they are Jews; simply because they are middle class. The Zionist project itself, with its great need for unity, has had violent opposition in Jewish ranks, so much so that its first meeting could not be held at Munich because of the attitude of the German Jews themselves.

A considerable number of Jews in lands of partial emancipation, such as Germany and Austria, or of complete freedom, such as France, deserted their people altogether, adopting a theory of assimilation. It is the descendants of these converts, whose grandfathers became Christians in their effort

to be thorough Germans and forsake their Jewish heritage, who are today undergoing the bitterest lot in Nazi Germany. Far from a unity, the Jewish people have always shown contending factions, struggles for leadership, and a large minority of disloyalists.

The late Israel Zangwill treated this aspect of the problem in his clarifying essay, "The Legend of the Conquering Jew." In this study he remarks: "I suppose nobody is in a better position than I to give the lie to the charge of Jewish solidarity, I, whose life has been half-wasted in the effort to bring it about, who for twenty years toiled to unite the Jewish millionaires in the quest for a Jewish State, and whose supremest triumph lay in assembling three of them, a British, a Russian, and an American in one committee room to promote—emigration from a Jewish centre!" "No Jewish people or nation now exists, no Jews even as sectarians of a specific faith with a specific centre of authority such as Catholics or Wesleyans possess; nothing but a multitude of individuals, a mob hopelessly amorphous, divided alike in religion and political destiny. Their only unity is negative—that unity imposed by the hostile hereditary vision of the ubiquitous Haman."

He points out a possible origin of the myth of the conquering Jew in the Jewish doctrine of the Chosen People, which included the eventual extermination of the heathen. "The heathen would be exterminated," he writes, "by ceasing to be heathen. In this sense the Jew did contemplate over-running and conquering the earth." "It was not the triumphant and profiteering nationalism of the modern Christian nation; at the lowest it was never the mere military hegemony of an Alexander or a Caesar that was visioned;



the Messiah, though he was to be a conqueror and of the seed of David, was none the less to bring the Kingdom of God on earth."

This ancient ideal, with which all Christians are familiar through their Old Testament, was the sole hope of a broken and scattered people through ages of persecution. It is the irony of history that today it has been misread, bolstered up with forged documents, and developed into a legend of conquest and world domination.

## CHAPTER XIII

### *The Race Theory*

IN TRACING THE TYPES of reaction against the Jews, especially the unfavorable types, we have seen a shift from religious to secular grounds. This is a part of the general shift of interest in the world as a whole; the Middle Ages saw personal struggles of kings and barons, as well as the Wars of the Cross against the Crescent; the seventeenth century, the Religious Wars of Catholic against Protestant; but wars have now become national and economic rather than religious. One of the phenomena of the change from the medieval to the modern world is the rise of nations and especially of that type of local patriotism known as "nationalism." The institutions of a nation, its government, language, religion, music, art, and all the rest, have become rallying points for this wider patriotism. When fully grown, nationalism means that each of these cultural possessions is better in my nation than in yours. So wars became a struggle of Goethe against Shakespeare, just as in earlier days they represented Luther against the Pope.

This intense nationalism has naturally little place for minorities. They are put under great pressure to give up their languages and other special institutions and to become absorbed in the mass of the nation. Such was the fate of the French in Alsace and Lorraine from 1870 to 1918, and such,

in turn, became the lot of the Germans in those provinces after they were taken back by France. Every minority group in Europe formed a sore spot, a center for oppression of one kind or another. Only Belgium, Switzerland, and Czechoslovakia made determined efforts to solve this problem on a democratic basis, while Soviet Russia approached it by shifting the basis from nations to economic classes, and favoring the workers over the bourgeoisie. After the World War one of the serious problems to be solved was this of minority groups. The solution produced in the various post-war treaties had two sides. First was the effort to avoid such groups as often as possible in the drawing of boundaries, so as to give self-determination to many of the peoples of Europe. Second, the many minorities remaining were protected by treaty, so that certain rights of language, religion, and civil rights were especially reserved for them. Neither of these efforts was entirely successful, but the importance of the problem appears in these attempts to solve it.

The problem of ethnic, religious, and cultural minorities remains one of the unsolved ones of Europe, throwing much light on the situation of the Jewish minorities as well. When King Alexander of Yugoslavia was assassinated, the first result was the expulsion of quite innocent Hungarians from his country, the second the similar treatment of Yugoslavs living across the border in Hungary. Italy has solved the problem of *Italia irredenta*, but only by adding an oppressed German-speaking minority within her borders. Macedonia is a hot-bed of rebellion and conspiracy precisely because of its mixed population and their relationship to oppressed minorities in the surrounding Balkan lands. The old Austro-Hungarian Empire was an attempt to solve this situation by

a compromise: one political authority combined with various degrees of local autonomy. Whether this was a better solution than the present one, of small states, each with a ruling nationality and a series of minorities, only time will tell.

One type of nationalism, the most extreme, is that known from the Italian form as fascism. Here the state is everything, the individual merely a bee in the national hive. The totalitarian state rules labor and capital, learning and art, and by force as well as every type of propaganda keeps itself in power and educates the people from childhood up to its philosophy. In the fascist state no minorities are recognized; every man and woman, boy and girl, is merely a member of the national unity, with the dictator supreme over all. Italian fascism has carried this policy to one extreme, German National Socialism to another. In Italy minorities have simply been erased from the board, leaving only individual citizens of the fascist state. In Germany the one minority of prominence, the Jews, are suppressed by force and deprived of the protection of the law, so as to leave the rest of the people unified.

Professor Salo Baron has shown, in an incisive study in the "Menorah Journal," how this reaction of nationalism to minorities varies, not with the character of the minority, but directly according to the type of nationalism. It is least repressive in states which are unions or federations of nationalities, such as ancient Rome, or modern Russia or America. It is strongest and most repressive in states which are national states, including (at least in theory) an entire nationality, with its own language, religion, and other institutions, in a single government. Such a state is contemporary Germany, or Poland, or Greece. It varies indefinitely in states which comprise part of a nationality, where the single national unity

is divided into several governments. Such a status existed in the Italian city-states before the unification of Italy, or in Germany before 1870, where the life of the Jews varied from one city to the next: tolerated here, expelled there, here under severe repression, there under far more humane conditions.

In all this fear of minorities as the enemy within, in all this suppression of minorities, the Jew is always in danger and usually the scapegoat of the entire system. Poles live in Germany, Germans in Poland; but Jews live in both lands, subject to the pressure of dominant nationalism in both alike. But in many cases the Jews are active patriots in the nation where they live. They were living in Rumania over a thousand years ago, long before there was a Rumanian nation, long before the domination of the Turks. They are nationals of long standing in practically every country of Europe, usually having been there long before the national idea was even imagined. In Poland or Rumania they may be attacked as foreigners on the ground of their language, dress and customs; in western and central Europe, even those do not differentiate them.

So the next step was the support of a nationalistic theory by one of race. The two are not really identical; in fact, in their logical conclusions they contradict each other. If all in the nation are equal and alike, then differences of race, religion, and custom can be disregarded, as they actually are in Italy. If race is the essential factor of unity, then the nation becomes a menace to the peace of the world, as Germany has become today; expelling minorities who live within its borders and planning to conquer those of kindred cultures who are now outside. But to the uncritical, especially



when aroused by patriotic enthusiasm, the combination appeals. Their own nation becomes in their minds a unity in every way—one by blood, by faith, by language and institutions. The eighteenth-century ideal of the Christian state is revived in Austria at the same moment that the racial ideal dominates Germany, because of the same desire to unify the national body. Thus fascist movements in many countries are anti-Semitic, in an attempt to form a unified state, with one race, one religion and one culture, and to stamp out variations in all directions. Mosley in England and Pelley in America simply follow the precedent of victorious Hitler in Germany when they adopt anti-Semitism as part of their fascist creed.

In entering this world of pure theory regarding races, we shall have to inquire somewhat into the background of physical anthropology. This science is much neglected outside of Germany because of its extremely technical nature and the great uncertainty of its conclusions; in Germany it is now a required subject in every school from the lowest classes through the university, and always with a definite conclusion—up with the Germans and down with the Jews. An English student of the subject, V. Gordon Childe, even states: "The apotheosis of the Nordics has been linked with policies of imperialism and world domination; the word 'Aryan' has become the watchword of dangerous factions and especially of the brutal and blatant forms of anti-Semitism. Indeed, the neglect and discredit into which the study of Indo-European philology has fallen in England are very largely attributable to a legitimate reaction against the extravagancies of Houston Stewart Chamberlain and his ilk, and the gravest objection to the word 'Aryan' is its association with pogroms."

This statement occurs in an exhaustive work entitled "The Aryans," which we will cite again. Because of this attitude, most students of mankind today are not studying bodily features but rather cultural facts, such as language, religion, and practical arts, in the effort to understand both early man and civilized nations.

We have seen the rise of the race theory through Gobineau, Chamberlain, and the anti-Semitic political parties of central Europe. It developed also its so-called scientific apologists, such as Hans Günther, whose "Racial Elements in European History" has been translated into English. This book develops the same point of view with much erudition and many applications to special races. The race theory may be summarized in the words of Friedrich Hertz of Vienna in his "Race and Civilization":

"The chief content of race theories is the assumption that the differences between peoples and even certain differences within a people are as deep-seated as they are enduring. One's own race is considered noble, the source of all culture, the pioneer of all progress. All other races, on the other hand, are inferior, less gifted, morally ignoble. . . . Very often it is even assumed that every mingling of races only leads to the combination in the product of all the bad qualities of both sides. Further, it is asserted that race feeling (meaning, in practice, racial arrogance and hatred) has been implanted in man by nature, and that every dilution or obliteration of natural antagonism must be rejected."

What is a race? That is, after all, the crux of the matter. In this matter of definition we must turn to specialists, and we shall prefer non-Jews who presumably have less personal interest in the discussion. Günther, the Nazi, defines it as

follows: "A race shows itself in a human group which is marked off from every other human group through its own proper combination of bodily and mental characteristics, and in turn produces only its like." But, as Günther well knows, such a group cannot be found in its purity among human beings. Hence, he must qualify even his essential first definition: "Even if members of the races are not to be found in all their purity owing to a long intermingling, the correlations, by making a definite picture of the related characteristics, would show what races have built up the mixed population in question."

If a supporter of the race theory has such difficulty, unbiased anthropologists have even more. Fay-Cooper Cole of the University of Chicago writes: "The term 'race' is here used to designate a group of people having in common certain physical characteristics which serve to distinguish them from other groups, who now or formerly did occupy the same or adjacent territory, and who have common descent. . . . It is only by dealing with large numbers of individuals and by considering many criteria that we can strike an average which justifies the term 'race.' " L. H. D. Buxton of Oxford, writing in the "Encyclopædia Britannica," will not even classify the races of mankind by skin color, because this overlaps with other physical traits; he finally uses hair form as his basis. In his classification, mankind has three groups: the straight-haired peoples (usually known as Mongolians); the woolly-haired (the Negroes); and the intermediate or curly-haired (the white race). But within each he shows many subdivisions by skin color, height, and shape of the head; and in between, many mixed groups, formed by cross-breeding.

W. Z. Ripley, the anthropologist, is more cautious still in his well-known book, "The Races of Europe." He says: "Race, properly speaking, is responsible only for those peculiarities, mental or bodily, which are transmitted with constancy along the lines of direct physical descent from father to son." "Race denotes what man is; all these other details of social life represent what man does." He even warns his readers that "it is impossible to measure race by the geographical distribution of arts or customs; for they, like language, migrate in complete independence of physical traits." Franz Boas would seem to be correct when he remarks: "The whole concept of race lacks in clarity, and a great error is committed in assuming that people who look alike in some respects must be alike in all respects."

How are the individual races defined, whether by race theorists or impartial scientists? Simply by a combination of various traits. A population is studied in detail, such as that of Germany. A large percentage of the people in the northern sections have long skulls, while in the southern portion the majority have broad skulls. The north runs to long faces, the south to broad; the north to greater average height; the north has more blonds, the south more brunettes. We get, then, an impression of two races in Germany: a tall, blond, long-headed race in the north, usually known as Nordic; a short, dark, broad-headed race in the south, called the Alpine. But when we examine individuals in either section, we find very few who combine all the features of one race. Tall blonds have broad heads, or tall, long-headed men have dark eyes. Neither race actually exists as a group.

The anthropologist Virchow examined many thousands of German school children as far back as 1879 to search for the

blond Nordic, using children rather than army recruits because they are notably lighter in color than adults. He found just 32 per cent of blonds (34 per cent in north Germany, the home of the Nordics), 14 per cent brunettes, and 54 per cent of mixed types—light hair with dark eyes and the like. Of 75,000 Jewish children, 11 per cent were blonds, 42 brunettes, and 46 mixed. The Jewish children averaged a little darker than the Germans, but still 32 per cent had light hair and 46 per cent light eyes. Günther himself admits that only 10 per cent of the Germans are pure Nordics, and another 50 to 55 per cent have mixed Nordic ancestry.

The only way that the concept of a Nordic race can be established is by abstracting the so-called Nordic features of many individuals and establishing an ideal type. Race then becomes a pure abstraction, not a real thing like a family or a government, but an arithmetical average like an intelligence quotient. Topinard said many years ago: "Race is an abstract conception, a notion of continuity in discontinuity, of unity in diversity. It is the rehabilitation of a real, but directly unattainable thing." And Frank H. Hankins says in his "Racial Basis of Civilization": "We think of a race as an ensemble of physical traits, each more or less variable, all inherited as an ensemble within their limits of variation, and sufficiently distinctive when taken together to mark off their possessors from other members of the human species." "Racial differences are those of degree and not of kind. They must therefore be thought of in terms of statistical norms and ranges of variation. Also the notion of superiority or inferiority is also quantitative and relates to specific traits rather than to the ensemble of traits distinguishing the races."

It is perfectly true that there are many differences between



people, both physical and mental; it is also obvious that these differences prevail in a general way between great masses of the nations. But that is a very different statement from the radical difference between races and the superiority of one special race, as argued by the race theorists. The fact is that anthropologists have been unable to find a single pure race anywhere, either by counting living persons or by studying the skeletons in cemeteries, or even those in prehistoric burial mounds. As Eugène Pittard puts it, in his "Race and History": "The degree of ethnical purity of a human race is first and foremost a function of geographical isolation. . . . Primitive races became mixed from the time that the wanderings of humanity over the continents became extensive." Of course, what are usually called races are nothing of the kind, but simply social groups, nations, or language groups. As Pittard remarks further: "In current—even in scientific—speech, the word 'race' has been singularly twisted out of its proper significance. Race must not be confounded with language or nationality. There exists no such thing as a 'Latin race,' a 'Germanic race,' or a 'Slavonic race.' Let us always keep before us the aphorism: race is a zoological, language a social fact."

Let us discuss the race theories under the three headings: physical, psychological, and social factors. It is very difficult to keep these separate because the race theorists usually confuse them, but it is quite necessary if we are to understand the issues involved. The first physical fact which is associated with race is heredity. But students of heredity do not make this connection; to them heredity works only in the direct line of descent from parents to children. A race has not one heredity, but many heredities, according to its family groups. If the race is largely inbred these various hereditary strains in time will come closer together. But even a few inter-

marriages will account for different traits, which appear again and again in certain families. The movement for eugenics, then, need have no connection whatever with race. It is a movement to eliminate inferior stocks (feeble-minded, insane, or degenerate) such as may occur in any racial group, and to encourage the propagation of the superior families, which also may belong to any race. The Nazi effort to unite the two merely confuses the issue and makes it harder for a genuine eugenic movement in other countries than Germany.

A second point which enters in is the fact of racial admixture, which is admitted by all, even by the Nazis. But to most race theorists all racial admixture is a danger. Only a Chamberlain, too clever to fall into the ordinary fallacies, maintains that the "great races are due to a rapid mixture of related blood," evidently thinking of England, with its successive conquests by northern peoples. But the vilest term in the vocabulary of the race theorists is "mongrel." Now, anthropologists tell us that every race presents such a diversity of physical traits that it can be due only to interbreeding. The great races of history were mixed races, from ancient Egypt to modern America. The only peoples which were relatively "pure" were those too isolated for conquest, trade, or travel, hence peoples which had no power and no influence. There is even a good case to be made for the theory that a mixture of races produces the best of results, when it takes place under favorable historical and social conditions. Isolation produces stability but also stagnation. On the other hand, a mixture of peoples indicates change, transition, and often progress toward a higher social order.

A third point, prominent among the race theorists, is the danger to the Nordic aristocracy today, the "passing of the

great race," according the title of one of Madison Grant's works. The Nordics are natural conquerors, we are told; in every land they are the selected warriors, who fall in conflict with the Nordic rulers of other peoples. The Nordics are naturally of the upper classes, so they suffer unduly from the degenerative influences of city life, the falling birth rate of the aristocracy, and other modern trends. The Nordics are pioneers who shed their blood in the adventures of exploration. Finally, the Nordics are often minorities of conquering aristocrats, and are swallowed by racial admixture, as in ancient India or modern France. The Nordic race is thus disappearing and can be saved only by stringent measures of racial hygiene. Such measures range from prohibition of intermarriage with Jews to the theoretical establishment of a control over all marriages and even to actual breeding programs for the production of Siegfrieds and Brunhilds in these degenerate times. In such ways the race theorists point their argument to a practical end; but at the same time they are betraying their weakness in logic and their fear for the future.

But even racial chauvinism cannot stop with physical traits. Size and head form do not make a great race; the "blond beast" may be the type of manly beauty, but it remains to prove him an intelligent rival of his small, dark fellows in the struggle of every race toward civilization. So the race theorists invariably fall back at last on psychological traits. These have the additional advantage that they are vague, difficult to prove or disprove, and can be associated with physical characteristics in any way the propagandist wishes. Listen to Günther describing various races: "We may take judgment, truthfulness and energy to be the qualities which

are always found marking out Nordic man. . . . The Alpine man may be called reflective, hard-working and narrow-minded." He quotes Ammon as saying of the Alpines: "Their inclination towards the democratic theory of equality is grounded in the fact that they themselves never rise above the average, and have a dislike, if not hatred, for greatness which they cannot grasp." The German theorist, then, attacks the Alpines for their leaning toward democracy. But the English and American race theorists praise the Nordics as the very inventors of democratic institutions. Evidently, such vague descriptions of entire racial groups, each consisting of millions of different individuals, are useful only to minister to vanity or prejudice.

No psychological test has yet been devised which really evaluates the mental differences between races. Every such test relies so largely on social backgrounds, on what the child has already learned, that it may be a fair measurement for children from the same social class, but cannot possibly show anything important about persons of different backgrounds. At the same time, these tests omit what is usually the most important fact about people, their temperament, and emphasize only the capacity for learning, and especially the capacity for learning language and expressing oneself in words. Tests of various racial groups, made in America and Hawaii, indicate this fact very clearly; when the school opportunities and the knowledge of the language are both discounted, there is almost nothing left. What little remains would usually place the Jewish children in the first rank, but that may be simply the result of the Jew's age-old passion for education.

The best known example of such a test in this country was that applied to the soldiers in the American army during the

World War. In this test whites were higher than Negroes, but even here the northern Negroes ranked above the southern whites. The only fair conclusion is that the tests did not measure intelligence at all, but simply opportunities for schooling, which are more extensive in the North than in the South, and which are everywhere better for whites than for Negroes.

But when they come to an impasse with regard to physical traits, the race theorists need the mental differences of races to defend their case. And if these cannot be exactly defined or proved, they can still be asserted. Chamberlain himself admits that the Jews are not entirely different in race from the Germans, but holds that the difference still remains between the "German soul" and the "Jewish soul." What then of the German who turns to liberalism or the Jew who adopts the Christian faith? Most racialists will not make concessions, preferring consistency to honesty. Chamberlain, however, admits that under certain circumstances there may be Jews with German souls (exceptions to the norm), and that there are many degenerate Germans, under Jewish influences, who give indication of Jewish souls. His dilemma merely illustrates the impossible nature of the whole attempt to classify intelligence or souls along racial lines.

As a climax to physical and mental attainments of the favored race, its spokesmen then turn to its social traits and its achievements in the field of history. The Nordic is hailed as the inventor of the Aryan languages, as the born discoverer and conqueror, as the aristocrat of races and the upper social level in many mixed peoples. The claim is made that the great nations of history, the Greeks, Romans, French, all had Nordic aristocracies at the time of their great



achievements, and that their decline came when these ruling groups were destroyed in war or swallowed up by intermarriage with their darker neighbors. Finally, the actual evidence comes, that today the ruling nations of the world are those of northern Europe.

But this last is the only true statement of them all, at least the only one which can be proved historically. Many races have produced great civilizations: the Egyptian, Babylonian, Greek, and Roman in turn. In the great period of Greek civilization, Aristotle actually considered the German barbarians incapable of culture and born to be slaves. This was simply the same argument applied under different social conditions. Great civilizations have even been developed by other than white races, as witness China and India of the past or Japan today. At the present stage of history the nations occupying the Atlantic coast of Europe have the same geographical advantage that at one time belonged to the very different races which inhabited the valleys of the Nile and the Euphrates.

No race has a monopoly of any single talent. Every people has produced great warriors, including barbaric peoples. Perhaps the greatest of them all have been nomads like Genghis Khan or Tamerlane. If Germany has produced a Luther, before him came Buddha and Jesus; if she has brought forth a Kant, he was preceded by Plato and Spinoza; if she had a Goethe, there were also Homer and Dante. Her Gothic art is marvelous, but so too are the Greek temples and the Roman amphitheatres. In fact, in the values of civilization no race has ever stood alone. The language of Germany is Aryan; her religion is of Jewish origin; her poetic forms came to Europe from Saracens of the Middle Ages; her very Gothic arch itself was probably a cross between the Roman

and the Saracen arches, developed in a new way by the builders of the great cathedrals.

The race theory fails completely in its violent but always vague assertions of the superiority of one race over another. Social institutions and habits certainly differ between nations. But these differences can never be actually identified with race. They are matters of environment, training, or that social heredity which we call tradition. Many races, mixed or relatively pure, adopt new languages, new religions or new customs which appeal to them. The physical contact and cross-breeding of races may speed up this process, which goes on with or without it. The group differences between peoples are thus social and not biological. The biological differences are individual ones, denoting descent from particular ancestors, and overlapping racial boundaries. The physical differences between two populations so different as the Swedes and the Italians, for example, must all be expressed in percentages: more or fewer blonds, tall men, long heads. The mental differences also must be expressed as statistical averages whenever these have been worked out by the development of science. But the institutions of Italy and Sweden are quite different, as we can see at once: the languages, governments, religions, occupations, and arts of two distinct peoples.

Professor Goldenweiser has said: "In former times men thought that races were many, but civilization was one. We now know that mankind is one in race, but that civilizations are many." The race theory is fallacious in its inception and its development. We shall now proceed to study the specific fallacies of the race theory as it is applied today, particularly to the Aryans, the Nordics, and the Jews.

## CHAPTER XIV

### *The Racial Fallacy*

BY THIS TIME it appears clearly that the entire race theory is a device to bolster up anti-Semitism and other types of national or group hatred. The important facts of both race and environment are ignored for the sake of dogmatic and extreme statements which will be useful politically. But we can go beyond that. The very terms with which the race theorists deal are meaningless or their conclusions with regard to them are false. We shall examine especially the form of the race theory which is current in Germany, but we must remember that other forms—the Anglo-Saxon, the Celtic, and the Latin—are built up in the same way and for the same purpose.

*There is no Aryan race.* This central assumption of the race theory, embodied in the "non-Aryan paragraph" and thus incorporated into the legal structure of Nazi Germany, has no basis whatever. "Aryan" is not even a racial term, but simply a language classification, invented by Max Müller as a name for a group of languages which prevail throughout Europe and which are found also in Persia and India. Müller himself resented bitterly the application of the word to the field of race. He stated: "To me, an ethnologist who speaks of an Aryan race, Aryan blood, Aryan eyes and hair, is as great a sinner as a linguist who speaks of a dolicho-

cephalic dictionary, or a brachycephalic grammar." Childe in his exhaustive study, "The Aryans," is quite as careful. He says: "Though we have for convenience retained the name 'Aryan' in this book, we have stated at the outset that its use as a national appellation by the undivided people is unproven and indeed unlikely. As a racial designation it is peculiar to the Indo-Iranians."

Nobody knows where the Aryan languages had their origin; the theories range from Lithuania, Germany and the Ukraine to central Asia. Nobody knows whether there ever was a single race which originated the primitive Aryan tongue, or even whether there was such a tongue. It may very well be that there were groups of tribes which spoke related tongues. The real origin of the Aryan languages is quite as likely to have been among the mixed peoples of central or hither Asia as among the tall blonds of northern Europe. What we actually know is that Aryan tongues are now spoken, and have been throughout historic times, by people of every physical type in Europe and Asia, and that English, an Aryan language, has been adopted by millions of Negroes in the United States. On the rôle of the Aryans in prehistoric times, Childe states: "They were not the inaugurators of the neolithic civilization even in Europe, nor were they as a whole the pioneers in the use of bronze or iron. . . . We may at least say that they were not merely destroyers. They knew how to profit from and improve on the achievements of their victims. . . . The last gift bequeathed by the Aryans to the conquered peoples was neither a higher material culture nor a superior physique, but a more excellent language and the mentality it generated."

The very existence of an "Aryan" people is a myth; their

identification with the tall blonds of northern Europe has become a dogma. For this reason, while "Aryan" is still employed in political speeches and German law, a scientific apologist like Günther avoids the term and prefers "Nordic" as his name for the great race.

*No pure Nordic race exists today or has existed in any available records.* The nearest to such a group appears, not in Germany, but in Scandinavia and the British Isles. But even in these places there are "islands" of darker folk, and many of the majority people have one or another sign of intermarriage—dark eyes or round heads or broad faces. A study of army recruits in Sweden, the most "Nordic" land of all, showed that only 10.7 per cent combined all the traits—long heads, tall stature, fair hair and light eyes, although over three-fourths of the men had one or more of the traits in question. The Nordic race, then, reduces itself like any other to a matter of arithmetical averages. It does not now exist as a race, and probably never did as far back as human remains can indicate.

Chamberlain describes the Nordic as an ideal type of man—"the great heavenly eyes, the golden hair, the gigantic stature, the symmetrical muscular development, the lengthened skull." But Hankins dismisses this picture by the remark: "There is no basis in fact nor in theory for the doctrine of conquering waves of pure blond heroes. . . . There can be no doubt that some historic groups possessed more blonds than others; some probably possessed none. But blondness never reached purity; it always remained relative. . . . The blond heroes of ancient myth and story in all probability represent the idealization of the occasional blond rather than the unimaginative representation of the truly typical."



The rôle of the Nordics in history is emphasized in just as fantastic a way. They are the natural conquerors and rulers, we are told. They are the ruling class in modern European nations, even as they were in ancient Greece and Rome. They are prevailingly Protestants, while the Latin nations are chiefly Catholic. The proper conclusion of all this is a caste system, as in India, with the blonde Nordics as the ruling caste, jealously preserving their racial type. The darker peoples can, at best, be followers and servants of the divinely appointed leaders.

Every great man in European history is claimed as a Nordic on the ground of tradition, or a portrait, or even of guesswork. Now, one cannot rely for physical measurements on a portrait of a man long dead, even if it be accurate. Yet with such scanty evidence we find the claim applied to Pericles, Leonardo da Vinci, and many others before and since. The assumption is that greatness is only the result of a pure racial strain, and that the greatest of all such strains is the Nordic. But the difficulty comes in well-known examples, like those of Jesus and Paul. Chamberlain says that Jesus *may* have had a German father and Paul a Greek mother. Of course, neither statement is capable of proof. But, if it were true, the two great religious geniuses of Christianity would then be half-Jews instead of full Jews; the Jewish strain remains either in pure or mixed form. The Nordic Christian would have to admit the greatness of two Jews or of two men of mixed Jewish and Nordic descent.

In fact, every race has contributed its quota of great men and of social discoveries. Among the non-Nordics were certainly such men as Michelangelo, Raphael, Dante, Shakespeare—even such German geniuses as Luther, Beethoven, Goethe,

and Kant. All the portraits of these men show them as dark and sometimes also they seem to be broad-headed. Goethe himself had black hair, brown eyes, and a dark complexion; today he is outlawed by the most ardent race theorists of Germany. Beethoven was short, dark, and possessed almost negroid features. The cranial measurements of Kant, Schopenhauer, and Leibnitz, all of them great Germans, show them distinctly broad-headed. The Nordic legend is not quite so unreal as the Aryan myth; there really are peoples who are prevailingly blond; but they are neither the heroes and conquerors they are called, nor are they the only great contributors to civilization, nor are they themselves a pure race, a type of physical, intellectual, and moral power.

We now come to the Germans. *The Germans are neither a pure race, nor a prevailingly Nordic one.* The same is true of the English, or the English settlers in New England, or any others of the groups who sometimes appeal to the race theory. But for our purpose the Germans are the most in point today. We have already referred to Virchow's study of German school children, intended to prove the Nordic character of the population, and proving instead its thoroughly mixed character. Certain sections of Germany are not even mixed; Otto Ammon, himself a racialist, found only two per cent of pure Nordics in his study of physical types in Baden. South Germany is probably more markedly Alpine than north Germany is Nordic. Prussia in particular contains many Slavic and other pre-German elements, who have become thoroughly assimilated with German speech and culture, but still preserve physical evidence of varying racial origins. As Pittard sums up his chapter on Germany: "Present-day Germany can no more boast of containing a pure race within its

frontiers than most of the other European lands. . . . The Germanic race (that is, the 'Nordic') is far from monopolizing German territory. Though North Germany, especially the northern seaboard, may legitimately be considered a Kymric ('Nordic' again) domain, the same cannot be said for the south, nor for the central area into which the Germanic race has merely filtered." He even points out a Polish sub-group in central Germany, extending at least as far as Saxony.

This analysis is not given by the present author, or by Pittard, Ripley, or other specialists, with any view to condemning the Germans. It is exactly the same sort of study they have made of England, France, and other countries. It proves merely that all modern nations are mixed in racial ancestry; that civilizations are not the product of any one race; that nations do not correspond to races. Incidentally, as a byproduct, the study of anthropology explodes completely the claims of the race theorists. It is equally fatal to a Nordic, an Aryan, a Teutonic, and a Celtic race as the "great race" of history and the modern world. Scientists know no great race; they find no pure races anywhere. They know only nations, families, economic and social and religious organizations, the product of many men and women of many types of ancestry, who together are evolving their many varieties of civilization.

This brings us to another important and interesting conclusion—*the Jews also are not a pure race*; in fact, some scholars hold that they are not a race at all. The evidence on this point is both historical and anthropological, and we shall glance at both types. But first it may be well to notice the race theorists' view of the Jews.

To the customary Nazi writer and speaker of today, the

Jew is the anti-race (*Gegenrasse*), the sub-man (*Untermensch*). He is a near-Asiatic, a non-Aryan, with the clever uncreative intellect of a born imitator. He is clever, corrupt and dangerous. Every charge of a religious, economic and moral nature is made against this debased racial strain, including the authorship of the Protocols. Only a people degenerate by birth could hatch such a plot! As Günther says: "It is the Jews, indeed, who give an example of the importance of the physical and mental heredity endowment, for their inherited characteristics are the source of that strangeness which they themselves feel within the racially different European peoples, and which these peoples feel with regard to the Jews." "The Jews are a nation," he says elsewhere, "and like other nations, too, they are made up of several races. The two races which are, so to say, the foundation of the Jewish nation are the Hither Asiatic and the Oriental. Besides these there are lesser strains of the Hamitic, Nordic, Inner Asiatic, and Negro races, and heavier strains of the Mediterranean and the Baltic." Most Nazi race-scientists, on the other hand, consider the Jews to be pure Asiatics, Semites, as contrasted with the superior Aryans.

The anthropological evidence shows that the Jews are by no means a single race in their physical makeup. They produce pure Nordic types in Germany (though usually in a minority), pure Arab types in Yemen. There are even black Jews in Ethiopia and yellow Jews in China. Everywhere they resemble their non-Jewish neighbors more than their fellow Jews in distant lands. Ripley states: "The boasted purity of descent of the Jews is a myth. The modern Jews are physically more Aryan than Semitic, after all. . . . The Jews are not a race, but only a people. Such individuality as they

possess—by no means inconsiderable—is of their own making, from one generation to the next, rather than a product of unprecedented purity of physical descent.” Ellsworth Huntington writes: “The Jews today are a highly mixed race”; he contrasts the long-headed brunette Spanish Jews with the broad-headed Jews of eastern Europe, with their large admixture of ruddy and sandy hair. Pittard speaks in the same vein: “No Jewish race, in the zoological sense of the word, exists. The Israelites constitute a religious and social community, certainly very strong and coherent; but its elements are heterogeneous in the extreme.” He quotes approvingly Renan’s dictum: “There is no such thing as a Jewish type—there are Jewish types.” The most thorough study of the problem was made by the late Dr. M. Fishberg of New York in his book, “The Jews: A Study of Race and Environment,” in which he comes to the same conclusion: “There is no more justification for speaking of ethnic unity among the modern Jews, or of a Jewish race, than there is justification to speak of a Unitarian, Presbyterian, or Methodist race.”

The historical evidence accords with this view, which was established by the measurement of skulls and the tabulation of hair color. Jews have often been conquered from the most ancient times, and their women exposed to the tender mercies of the victorious soldiers. Jews have always accepted proselytes, who were regarded as Jews and whose children became an integral part of the people. In early times the Jewish nation of Palestine even conquered alien groups and incorporated them into itself. Finally, intermarriage has always occurred from time to time (witness the ruddy King David descended from a Moabitish great-grandmother), and many



of the resulting families were reared as Jews. The frequent Church laws against such intermarriage and against the Jews owning and especially converting Christian slaves, indicate how constant this tendency was. We are not even sure what the original race was from which the twelve tribes came, or whether they were all of the same racial stock. Some experts think the original were Arabs, others Hittites; some think that even in Palestine they were mixed: with some tall, long-headed brunettes like the Arabs; some short, broad-headed brunettes like the Hittites and the modern Armenians; some tall blonds like the Amorites and the Nordics. But this attractive theory cannot be proved, for nobody knows today whether or not the Amorites were really blond.

At the same time, the same forces which brought racial admixture into the Jewish fold have forced a Jewish strain into the blood of many other peoples. Many of the children of intermarriages were certainly reared as Christians or Mohammedans. Many converts, voluntary or forced, added their racial strains to the stock of the various nations. If the number of Jews in the world today is 16,000,000, it has been calculated that at least four or five times that number of non-Jews have an appreciable admixture of Jewish blood. We are reminded of the legend of the Spanish king who, shortly after the expulsion of the Jews from Spain, decreed that any person with Jewish blood in his veins must wear a yellow hat, the old Jewish badge. The next day the court fool brought him three hats, "one for your majesty, one for myself, and one for the Chief Inquisitor." Together with the concept of a pure Nordic or a pure Jewish race, we must give up the idea of a natural repulsion between the races. The frequency of intermarriage and conversion indicates that such

a repulsion never existed in the past and does not exist today.

The Jews have, indeed, many common traits, social, religious, and national. These traits are the result of social heredity, which we ordinarily call tradition. They are the result of many factors, based on pressure without and training within. They consist of definite institutions, like those of any other people: the Hebrew language, the Jewish faith, Jewish customs, Jewish literature, Jewish law; above all, the historic memory and tradition of the Jewish folk.

Ellsworth Huntington has applied one theory of heredity to the Jews, that of social selection, in his book, "The Pulse of Progress." "We see in the Jews," he says, "an unparalleled example of natural selection through migration which went on with the more or less conscious aim to produce a segregation of the religious temperament." "Under stress of persecution the morally weaker types succumb, and forswear their old religion. The strong man is influenced in exactly the opposite way. If he has been lukewarm, he stiffens up and defends his race and his religion. And this, I believe—this holding of the strong while the weak are sloughed off—is one of the main reasons why the Jews still stand so high in achievement, and have stood so ever since the dispersion from Palestine, as well as before that time." But this process of social selection, we must note, is not a racial one. The loyal and devout may be of any race, may have light hair or dark, broad heads or long. Neither is this process complete; not all Jews possess these traits, nor do all gentiles lack them. The most that we can say is that in sixty generations of Jewish dispersion, such a process may have had a deep pervasive influence on the underlying temperament of the Jewish folk.

With all its weaknesses in factual basis, the race theory has one great advantage. Every race can utilize it, pointing to its own type of physical beauty, its own institutions, its own great men and great eras. The French have a Celtic theory, claiming the glory of the Mediterranean civilizations, old and new. The Italians, in their present military epoch, hearken back to the power and majesty of imperial Rome. The Finns have their fascist and racialist movement, which treats with contempt both Jews and Nordics as inferior to the Baltic race. Often the race theory seems merely a disguise for anti-Semitism; the apologist for his own race usually comes to the conclusion: "My people are better than the Jews."

Even the Jews have their racialist movement, no better founded on facts than any of the others. "All is race," said Benjamin Disraeli, the British prime minister, who liked to call himself an English Christian of the Jewish race. When attacked in the House of Commons as a Jew, he replied that when the ancestors of the proud British lords were painting their bodies blue in the northern forests, his people had already erected the Temple of Solomon in Jerusalem. If the race theory in general were sound, a case might well be made for the Jews as the "great race," pointing to their ancient culture, their endurance in spite of every sorrow and oppression, their many illustrious men. The Jewish writer, Maurice Samuel, in an early book, "You Gentiles," which he has probably repented long since, remarked: "To you [gentiles] life is a game and a gallant adventure, and all life's enterprises partake of the spirit of the adventurous. To us [Jews] life is a serious and sober duty pointed to a definite and incapable task. We know nothing of science for science's sake, as we know nothing of art for art's sake. We know only of

art for God's sake. . . . Art and science, this is your gentile world, a lovely and ingenious world. But not for us Jews." Obviously, Mr. Samuel has simply reversed the race theory. He has done so by the simple process of ignoring the Christian and Mohammedan faiths, and all the serious moral movements in the non-Jewish world, and emphasizing the parallel and important Jewish trends.

A recent book by David Goldblatt, entitled "Is the Jewish Race Pure?" presents almost a parody on Nazi racialism. The author defines "race" in this manner: "A race is a group of beings living a life different from others and having no political existence. Any group having a political existence is a nation. . . . Cross-breeding does not endanger the existence of any such group, whereas in the case of non-political groups, cross-breeding spells assimilation, or the sure end of its existence." He then goes on to list the traits "which are more developed among the Jewish race than in any other of the human races." They are: 1, Sobriety; 2, Idealism; 3, Intellect; 4, Adaptation; 5, Genius, and 6, Charity. Our comment on this may be put in the words of Irwin Edman: "The Jews have been accused so often of impossible racial defects that they have in self-defense ascribed to themselves wholly imaginary racial virtues. They have added to the unfavorable myths invented by outsiders a whole folklore of favorable myths about themselves."

The race theory is thus merely another name for "consciousness of kind," for exaltation of one's own group and contempt for other groups of people. The average man who accepts the race theory is not an anthropologist; he has never heard of a cranial index. But he is glad of an opportunity for pride; he is happy to have science confirm his ancient preju-

dices. So the race theory, scorned by every reputable anthropologist, has vast political influence. As Jean Finot sums up his own book on "Race Prejudice": "The differences among individuals belonging to the same human variety are always greater than those perceived between races regarded as distinct units. . . . When we go through the list of external differences which appear to divide men, we find literally nothing which can authorize their division into superior and inferior beings, into masters and pariahs. The science of inequality is emphatically a science of white people. . . . In a word, the term, 'race,' is only a product of our mental activities, and outside all reality. They [races] exist in us but not outside us."

It is as easy to speak of German brutality as of German greatness, of Jewish genius as of Jewish inferiority—and quite as naïve. The modern people is invariably mixed in racial heredity, influenced by many strains of social and historical development. All peoples are part of the same world civilization, with local variations coming from heredity, environment, and tradition. The race theory is merely a creation of prejudice, a support of group self-esteem.



## CHAPTER XV

### *Theories of Environment: Marx and Freud*

MANY OF THE ATTACKS on the Jews, and for that matter, much of their defense, has been in terms of personal character. But, as we learned in Chapter XIII, there is no means in the world of estimating the personal character of an entire people. The many different lands in which Jews live, their different social status, their different languages, their different religious and national interests, prevent even that measure of mental unity among them which may, perhaps, be cautiously assumed or understood of other peoples.

Moreover, the traits assigned to the Jews, even by their enemies, are often contradictory. They are both communists and capitalists; they are clannish, prone to segregation, yet obtrusive and fond of pushing themselves where they are not wanted; they are criminals by nature and, admit some anti-Semites, they show an exceptional purity of family life. The fact is that these and other characterizations apply to some Jews, even to many, but that none of them can properly be applied as national characteristics to the Jews or any other people.

Such mass descriptions are the rationalizations of prejudice. They are what Walter Lippmann has called a "mental stereotype," a ready-made description which conforms to a

certain word. "The pictures inside people's heads," he says, "do not automatically correspond with the world outside." "The way we see things is a combination of what is there and what we may be expected to find." Thus we have a preconceived idea of the Harvard man, the labor agitator, the alien, the Jew. Our idea is not a result of study or reason, but of childhood teachings, of a few personal experiences, of the general ideas of society.

It is easy to show this weakness by a sample list of Jewish characteristics—naturally, no book would be long enough to list and to examine them all. The late Professor Shaler of Harvard once made a study of group attitudes, which he published under the title, "The Neighbor." Here he gives "this most striking and universal of ethnic judgments" that the Jews are an unpleasant people. His reason is as follows: "the Jew is the ablest type of man the world has known, but a type that is somewhat archaic," for it is religious rather than scientific in its attitude. This does not explain Jewish Nobel prize winners in the sciences; it was written a few years before most of them became prominent. Dr. Shaler felt that the Jew was more impulsive in meeting strangers than the Anglo-Saxon because he had swifter mental processes. But this is merely a comparison between social habits of the sons of Jewish immigrants and of old New England families, meeting as students at Harvard. Jewish manners are always under fire, sometimes with good cause. No people has uniformly good manners; the Jews, in America at least, are suffering under the special handicap of getting rid of one set of manners and acquiring another within a few years. Moreover, the particular criticism in this respect is directed at Oriental display, luxury, noisiness, criticism always leveled

with some justice against the *nouveaux riches* of any society. Molière found these defects in his "Bourgeois Gentilhomme," who was a French merchant trying to rise to a more favored social status with his new-won wealth. If the Jews have more of such *arrivistes* than other groups, they are more subject to this social situation; but certainly neither the few old Jewish families of great wealth nor the Jewish proletariat are involved.

Jews are sometimes accused of immorality, petty or gross. In a Nazi booklet in my possession is a lengthy glossary of the 'Jewish thieves' lingo," with an attempt to prove that the Jews are the leaders of the criminal class in Germany. A serious charge if it could be proved and one which no reasons could explain away. But such prison statistics as we have prove the exact contrary. A study in nine states of the United States during 1932 showed that in every one of them the convictions for crime among Jews were far below their proportion of the population.

In New York State the 15 per cent of Jews furnished only 8 per cent of those sent to penitentiaries; in Illinois the percentages are 4.7 of population and 1.4 of prisoners; in Ohio they are 2.6 of population and only 0.7 per cent of those sent to the penitentiary. In the nature of the case there is no evidence that Jews are luckier or cleverer in evading punishment than other criminals; probably, in the face of prejudice, the contrary is more likely. The few available figures of other countries show the same result with startling uniformity. We may ignore such obviously prejudiced remarks as the typical Nazi statement that young Jews are always lurking about, seeking to debauch Aryan girls. They may be attracted by the prevailing type of physical beauty, but their passions are

no hotter than those of other men, their opportunities in a land of anti-Semitism are certainly far less.

But one common accusation is certainly important: that the Jews control the stage and the motion picture, and that in their control they deliberately pander to the worst and lowest tastes of the community. So far as the Jews have such control, it was won on the stage in open competition with the non-Jews who organized the modern theater, and in the motion picture as pioneers in an unknown field. The partial control, although above their proportion in the population, is then merely a part of the abnormal economic distribution of the Jews. That both stage and motion picture often produce unworthy and even immoral plays is a sad truth impossible to dispute. These are not presented, however, because producers wish to debauch public taste and morals, but merely because audiences flock to such performances and the producer is first of all a business man who "gives the public what they want." The real remedy lies in the audiences, where the Jewish proportion is less than 4 per cent. As soon as the public demands cleaner and more uplifting entertainment, Jewish producers as well as gentile will hasten to satisfy that demand.

The Jews are accused of clannishness and have been since Roman times. In large part this charge is true. Like other groups, the Jews have been devoted to their religion and their people; they have tried to preserve both faith and folk. But this same clannishness is also largely a result of non-Jewish discrimination. In fact, the gravest charge of the German Nazis is the precise opposite: that the Jews are trying to intermarry with pure Germans, to conceal their identity and to debase the Nordic blood stream with their own in-

ferior strain. Obviously, both charges cannot be true at the same time of the same people. Both are true, however, of different Jews. Some are intensely loyal Jews, often happier with their own kind, and are called clannish; others are indifferent or disloyal and are branded as intruders. Neither policy is satisfactory to anti-Semites. Both are explainable on the ground of education and environment.

Jews are criticized because of their success, just as the Negroes are treated with contempt because they are almost wholly a group of manual laborers. As Galsworthy has his middle-class Englishman remark in his play, "Loyalties": "To tell you the truth, I don't like—well, not to put too fine a point on it—'Ebrews. They work harder; they're more sober; they're honest; and they're everywhere. I've nothing against them, but the fact is—they get on so." On the other hand, an aristocratic young gentile woman in the play states: "Oh! I know lots of splendid Jews, and I rather like little Ferdie; but when it comes to the point, they all stick together; why shouldn't we? It's in the blood."

One can readily see in such fictional examples the economic competition of the middle class and the social rivalry of the aristocratic group. So far as Jews possess the middle-class virtues of industry, sobriety, and thrift, they succeed as other people do. Probably they possess these virtues in considerable numbers precisely because they are middle class and because the handicap of prejudice causes them to struggle with extra energy. But they do not consider the accusation of success a charge but merely an evidence of rivalry or even of jealousy.

The Jews are sometimes considered more subject to mental disease, even to insanity, than other groups; some Jewish his-



torians consider that their life of persecution has made them decidedly neurotic. Fishberg quotes various European figures which show this tendency. But recent studies in the United States and Canada indicate that the Jews have approximately their proper numbers in the asylums, or even slightly less. As they are largely a city folk, subject to the severe strain of city life, one would expect them to have a somewhat larger amount of insanity than other peoples, who are chiefly rural. If they have not, it is a striking example of their physical and nervous stability.

Such characterizations as the above are sometimes associated with theories of race, but more often with those of environment. On the whole, theories of environment are not anti-Semitic in character; they either are apologetic or are attempts at a scientific statement of conditions. They vary indefinitely; they usually take a partial and limited approach, but most of them have some foundation in fact. The approach of Huntington, which we have already considered in the last chapter, for example, is not pure racialism, but considers the influence of environment on race through a process of selection.

Others have done the same. Thomas Babington Macaulay spoke along the same lines in 1833, when he argued in the House of Commons in favor of removing the civil disabilities from the Jews of England. He said: "If all the red-haired people in Europe had, during centuries, been outraged and oppressed, banished from this place, driven from that . . . if, when manners became milder, they had still been subject to debasing restrictions and exposed to vulgar insults . . . what would be the patriotism of gentlemen with red hair?"

Lewis Browne in a recent work, "How Odd of God," has

made a great deal of the fact that the Jews are an urban people, as though that were the central feature of the Jewish problem. Says Mr. Browne: "We Jews have survived because once we wanted to live, and because ever since then we have not been allowed to die." "There may be other traits . . . which make us conspicuous in the world, but these three—our alienation from the physical, our proclivity for the intellectual, and our addiction to the revolutionary—these, I think, are the salient ones. And all three . . . are a direct consequence of our abnormal confinement to the urban centers. Therefore the hostility between Jew and non-Jew, in so far as it is not a relic from the past, is essentially but an aggravated phase of the universal hostility between the townsman and the rustic."

Now, Mr. Browne has pointed out and recognized an important fact concerning the distribution of the modern Jews, which determines in great part the form of anti-Semitism as we know it today. But not its origin. Else, why is there prejudice against the Negroes, who are prevaillingly rural? Why against the gypsies, who are still nomads, avoiding both cities and settled farm life? There must be something which makes people fear and suspect the urban Jew and the rural Negro at the same time in different ways. On the other hand, the urban life of the Jews marks the present trend of all the world. Every civilized country is witnessing a great growth of city life, and with it an increase of the urban traits. So far as Jewish traits are merely urbanization, the gentile world is rapidly adopting them, without at the same time learning to appreciate or sympathize with the Jew.

The most influential theory of this type, and the most anti-Semitic, is that of the Jew, Karl Marx. Born a Jew, reared as

a Christian, married to a Christian wife, Marx suffered all his life the disabilities of Judaism, in which he had no interest. He was full of an ideal of humanity, devoted to the working class as the saviors of mankind, but he must always suffer as a Jew. It is not surprising that in him the frequent inferiority complex of the Jew (and of any oppressed group) came to the surface in his theory. When he was a young man of twenty-five, Marx wrote an essay, "Zur Judenfrage" (On the Jewish Question), in which he tried to explain away the identity of the Jews and to treat them merely as an economic entity.

To Marx the Jews are neither a nation nor a religion, but simply an economic class, set apart by discrimination and specializing in the pursuit of capital. "The chimerical nationality of the Jew is the nationality of the merchant." "What is the secular basis of Judaism? Practical needs, egoism. What is the secular cult of the Jew? Huckstering. What is his secular God? Money. Very well. Emancipation from huckstering and from money, and therefore from practical, real Judaism would be the self-emancipation of our epoch."

But modern society, as we all know, has become dominated by this ideal of capital, which seems to him originally a Jewish ideal. "The Jews have emancipated themselves in so far as Christians have become Jews." "Christianity sprang out of Judaism. It has again withdrawn into Judaism." The removal of all barriers from the Jew will assimilate him into society. The substitution of the standards of the proletariat for those of the bourgeoisie, says Marx, will abolish the Jewish ideal from society. "As soon as society succeeds in abolishing the empirical essence of Judaism, the huckster, and the conditions which produced him, the Jew will become

impossible. The social emancipation of the Jew is the emancipation of society from Judaism."

This theory has little foundation in fact; for the special form of economic discrimination in modern times followed the origin of anti-Semitism by many centuries and was its result, not its cause. On the other hand, it certainly has influenced modern anti-Semitism as much as it has modern Jewry, for the economic motive is one of the permanent elements in human life. The theory is an artificial simplification of the vastly complicated business of the life of a minority group, particularly such an old and distinctive group as the Jews. The Marxian theory has had wide popularity in the twentieth century; it has influenced the treatment of the Jews in communist Russia, where Lenin felt that all that was necessary was to release the Jews from Tsarist restrictions, and they would speedily become absorbed in the mass of nations in Russia. The Jewish communists especially followed Marx strictly, and it was due to them that the Jews did not early receive the full national rights of many other peoples in the Union of Socialist Soviet Republics. By freeing the Jew, they felt, the Revolution would cause him to disappear. Neither religion nor nationality had a place in their picture of the Jew, only economic forces.

In America we meet a variation of the same theory, that race prejudice, whether against the Jew or any other group, is a device of capitalists to keep labor disunited and weak. The American communists, therefore, take any case of oppression of the Negro, however little related to labor problems, as a part of the proletarian cause. But they overlook the fact that in America the general prejudice against the alien, the Negro or the Jew is shared by both workers

and employers, sometimes even in the same degree. The form may be different; in the employer it is contempt for a lower order; in the worker, fear of competition for jobs. But the prejudice is the same, caused by the same system of education, resulting in the same hatred. Else, why should employers themselves discriminate against Jews or the members of any minority group? According to the Marxians, they should rather take pains to hire white and black, native and foreigner, to mix all diverse types of immigrants and natives in their industries, in order that the workers should find it harder to organize and to unite. But the employers themselves often show the same prejudice, very frequently refusing to hire members of one or another minority group.

In our competitive system these motives may apply among workers against any group at all who seem likely to get their jobs, whether the competitors be aliens, Negroes, Jews, or merely Scotch-Irish from a neighboring county. Meanwhile, the employers often hire the cheapest labor of whatever type, but sometimes show their own prejudice by discriminating against one type or another. Thus a certain large chain store refuses to hire Jews merely because the heads of the company class all Jews as undesirable employees.

The importance of the Marxian theory is that it points out the economic factor in a powerful and arresting way; its weakness is that it ignores other factors of equal importance. The psychology of human beings is something significant in itself, and something that must be studied for its own sake. An important theory of anti-Semitism, we believe, is to be derived from the psychoanalytic school of Sigmund Freud, the Vienna neurologist, the most distinguished Jew in the field of psychology today.



The approach of psychoanalysis is a new method for investigation in psychology, parallel to the older ones of introspection and of laboratory technique. Its special search is for the hidden ills of the human mind, the subconscious ideas which have been hidden and repressed, and their results in the form of mental disease. Psychoanalysis has also become a method to diagnose and treat mental disease of different types, but it is the first aspect, its scientific one, which is important for our purpose. Certain of the ideas which Freud, the Jewish doctor of Vienna, and his followers have developed are of great importance for understanding the human mind in disease and in health as well. They have proved the significance of certain unconscious elements of which we are ordinarily not aware; of the repressions which may underlie our conscious ideas and daily behavior, and of the defense mechanisms by which we try to make these ideas seem reasonable to ourselves and to others. We need not take up the entire system of psychoanalysis, especially its more disputed aspects, to realize that here we have a significant interpretation of hatred, jealousy, and prejudice.

Now, this type of explanation has been applied to the behavior not only of individuals, but also of the group. The crowd, the church, the nation—all these have their typical ways of behavior, which can be expressed, if one desires, either as a group mind or as a uniform attitude of the persons in the group. To the psychoanalyst the group of persons has a mind, which he studies in much the same way as the mind of the individual. This mind also may have unconscious ideas, repressions, and complexes of reactions. Dr. Israel S. Wechsler of New York, writing in the "Menorah

Journal," says: "It is my firm conviction that the cause of anti-Semitism is not conscious or intellectual or social or racial, but almost entirely emotional and unconscious in nature. I am further of the opinion that anti-Semitism is both an individual and social neurosis, and that we must seek in psycho-pathology an explanation of its genesis and continuance."

That is, the relation of majority and minority groups may lead to abnormal states of mind, just as the father-son relation may between individuals. Anti-Semitism, from this point of view, becomes a disease of the group mind, just as hysteria is a disease of the individual mind. As Wechsler puts it: "It is evident that the roots of such a persistent problem in human behavior must be traced beyond superficial reason into the deepest layers of personality, into the well of our unconscious, complex emotional life."

Let us consider one extreme situation, that of the Nazi and the Jew, in order to study it with this approach. The German people had an inferiority complex for many years, indicated by their extreme aggressiveness, their boasting, their militarism. They knew that they were the latest of the great powers to arrive on the scene of history, that they lacked the prestige of the British Empire, its colonies, its international trade, its standing among nations. So they talked constantly of *Der Tag*, of their place in the sun, of the increasing power of Germany. They worked as well as they talked, building up foreign trade, army, and navy to the highest possible point. But at the same time they revealed their unsureness of themselves by their magnification of the Nordic race and their growing anti-Semitic movement. The World War was the culmination of this long psychological process, dating

from the formation of the German Empire in 1871, perhaps from the War for Liberation against Napoleon.

But the World War brought not fulfillment but frustration. The history of Germany since 1914 has been one long frustration: loss of the war, the war-guilt clause, the reparations, the loss of colonies, of Alsace-Lorraine, of the navy, of the Polish Corridor. Along with these came economic suffering, the loss of foreign trade, the inflation of currency, widespread unemployment and misery. Individual suffering and national humiliation were the lot of the Germans, expressing this frustration of their will to live.

But no human being and no group of human beings can live permanently in such a mental state. There must be some growth of pride, of self-esteem, to compensate for frustration. The Jews had such a comforting sense in their theory of the Chosen People. The Germans had enjoyed it before the World War. Now they sought assurance again. They began to convince themselves that they had not lost the war through their own weakness, but through treachery—the legend of the “stab in the back” by the Marxians and the Jews. They fulminated against Russia, but were powerless; they raged against the Allies, but were impotent. So there ensued a transference of this hatred to the one helpless minority among themselves, the traditional enemy of Christian and Nordic, the Jew. The Jew was a symbol of the hated Allies, the hated communists, of the war and its loss, of victorious Allied capitalism, of growing Russian influence. The Jew was the universal scapegoat for the frustration, the mental conflicts, the misery of individual Nazis, as well as the defeat of the German nation.

In addition, the Jew became the convenient, even the neces-

sary, scapegoat of the sins of Germany herself. As Arnold Zweig wrote in his "Caliban" in 1927: "Anti-Semitism seeks its own greed for power in the Jews—does this not indicate for whom anti-Semitism forms the greatest danger? Not for the Jews, who have at most the possibility of losing their individual lives, but for the Germans, whose entire future is at stake. Anti-Semitism can influence only the present of the Jews and steel them against the future; but for the German who accepts it, it can cut off the way to the future entirely." The consciousness of inner weakness, no less than the knowledge of external defeat, demands the scapegoat on whom the sins and errors of the majority can be placed. It is the judgment of Mr. Zweig, a leading German-Jewish writer and a student of this question from the Freudian standpoint, that this explains, not only the fact of German anti-Semitism, but especially its elaborate theory of races and its outrageous violence. The extreme frustration of the German nation caused an extreme reaction, the blind hitting out of the sick and unhappy victim of his own mistakes. To quote Dr. Wechsler again: "It is a good psychological mechanism of self-defense to project onto others the faults we ourselves possess. We heap on the devil the abuse which properly belongs to ourselves and punish him for the sins which we alone have committed. If there were no Jew the Christian world would do well to create one."

The frequent jealousy of individuals toward successful competitors is also an element in anti-Semitism. Many peoples, such as the Poles, feel that their position in the arts, sciences, and trade is weak compared to that of the Jews. This inferiority complex brings immediate reaction in the form of oppression of the Jews, an effort to compensate in

any way they can for the difficulties they cannot evade. Frequently such jealousy, open or repressed, has a reason. The Jews, in their turn, have had to compensate for political and economic repression, even for fear-breeding violence. Their compensation has been by extra concentration on their own possibilities of success—and these have lain, not in war or statecraft, but in the fields of commerce, science and art. The repression of the Jews has made them successful in certain fields; their success has made them the target for jealousy and further repression. Mass mania, group repressions, thrive on their own success and ever grow more dangerous.

Some Freudian thinkers might even see a religious side, the jealousy of the Christian world for the Jewish teachers and founders of the Christian faith. None of us like to be taught, to have some one else recognized as our superior. Hence the constant resentment of Christianity toward the Jew, its teacher. That might well have been forgiven if the Jew had passed on and, Elijah-like, left his mantle to the Church; it was doubly resented when the Jew persisted and refused to accept the Christian faith. This might well be called a form of the Oedipus complex, the hatred of the son for the father; Judaism is the parent of Christianity; the child resents teaching, superiority, domination. Says Dr. Wechsler: "Perhaps there is some analogy in the father-son relationship." He explains this by the term, "ambivalence," the double attitude of honor and hate which the son accords to his father, and which may be found also in certain other relationships. This particular interpretation seems to the present author rather a fantasy than a clear interpretation of fact; it is inserted here to indicate how thoroughly the psychoanalytic explanation can cover the field we are considering.



Dr. A. A. Brill, an American psychoanalyst, applies the "only child" theory to the Jews in a suggestive manner. "That the Jews have displayed all the attributes of the only or favorite child need hardly be mentioned. From the Bible we learn that they were stiff-necked, spoiled and overbearing, and considered themselves superior to every other nation. . . . When we study the history of the Jews we find that their enforced isolation was the result of an early, voluntary clannish exclusiveness. This shows the striking analogy to the only boy who at first refuses to associate with others because he believes himself superior to everybody else, and who is later excluded from social relations because he is misunderstood and disliked."

Some of these suggestions undoubtedly describe accurately the situation in certain places, where anti-Semitism is aggravated. Wechsler has made a correct point when he says: "Freud has recently pointed out that uncontrolled group behavior, mass psychology, resembles rather closely the behavior of neurotics. Emotion, not reason, rules the mass. Violent loves and hates sway the masses, with sudden transitions from one to the other." And it is plain that these loves and hates are conscious and open, while the underlying reasons for them may be quite unknown to their possessors, may lie in early teaching, in economic competition, in religious influence, or merely in the personal emotional life. To this extent the Freudian explanation is of great service in explaining anti-Semitism, particularly its most outrageous outbreaks.

But it is doubtful whether such explanations account for all cases of anti-Semitism, such as direct economic competition or the political maneuvering of Tsarist Russia. They

assume an abnormal or pathological element in what is, after all, a normal part of human life, the relation of one group of people to another. Such relationships may be friendly or unfriendly, may result in absorption of the smaller by the larger, or in enmity between two equals, or in oppression of a minority by a majority. Only previous education and the relationships between the two groups at the time will decide what the result is to be in any given instance. The attempt to find something abnormal will fail as often as it will succeed. Even in anti-Semitism, with all its violence, its lies built up to take the place of reasons, its constantly changing form and motives, there are only a few occasions, such as the present movement in Germany, where abnormal motives are clear, and these are always abnormal situations. The normal situation brings a normal attitude between the two groups, which often includes the suppression of the smaller and weaker; the abnormal situation may bring with it an abnormal response.

The reply of the minority is also capable of being read in terms of a series of complexes. The normal reaction of the oppressed minority is to build up a pride of its own. The Jew has done this through the centuries; his religion, his history, his culture have made him strong even in the face of persecution. But some members of even this minority, reared in Christian schools, reading Christian books and papers, living in the atmosphere of a Christian nation, begin to believe the accusations constantly leveled against them. Then we have a situation that is decidedly abnormal. This produces an inferiority complex, a sense of the person that he or his people is not as good as others. The result may vary all the way from shyness to an effort at self-assertion to prove

one's manhood. It may even go so far as to make a Jew an actual anti-Semite. A Gumpowicz, a Heine, a Marx show undoubted effects of such a process. Brilliant men, all of them, with the handicap of belonging to a despised people.

Certainly, in a world where the normal person must have self-respect in order to live at all, only an abnormal situation can bring the extreme of self-contempt or self-hate which men like these have shown. They exhibit an attempt to escape from the hated self, the Jewish self, into an ideal of nationality or of universality. They show how weak a human being can become when he is subjected to the continual power of the group about him, without having inner strength built up by a pride in himself and his own people. Mutual hatred of peoples is dangerous, but self-hatred is pitiful.

The Freudian viewpoint has influenced many thinkers who are not completely swayed by the Viennese psychiatrist. Herbert A. Miller has a sociological theory of group relationships which will be one of the important influences in the next chapter of this book. He has grown to feel that certain abnormal mental attitudes accompany the situation of both the oppressor and the oppressed; he has coined the term, "oppression psychosis," to describe them. Evidently the psychoanalytic approach has emphasized important truths about the anti-Semite and the anti-Semitic Jew, even though it may have overstressed one particular aspect of the problem.

A related theory, and one which betrays the weakness of the Jewish anti-Semite most strikingly, is that of Otto Weininger in his "Sex and Character." Weininger was a Jew in a German university before the World War; he wrote his book at the age of twenty-three and shortly after committed suicide. Obviously a man of brilliant but unstable

mind, of strong prejudices and violent judgments. According to him, the Jews represent the female element in society, which he holds to be far inferior to the male. Naturally, he considers the Nordic to be the male type. But he is careful not to tie his idea to race or religion; hence he succeeds in applying it to nothing specific.

He thinks of Judaism "as a tendency of the mind, which is a possibility for all mankind, but which has become actual in the most conspicuous fashion only among the Jews." "Whoever detests the Jewish disposition detests it first of all in himself; that he should persecute it in others is merely his endeavor to shake it off and separate himself from his Jewishness; he strives to shake it off and localize it in his fellow-creatures, and so for a moment to dream himself free from it." He then goes on to do the very thing which he has so aptly observed and named in others. The Jew "is non-moral, with nothing in him of either the angel or the devil." "Just as Jews and women are without extreme good or extreme evil, so they never show either genius or the depth of stupidity of which mankind is capable." "The Jew is never either enthusiastic or indifferent; he is neither ecstatic nor cold." Mankind must choose "between Judaism and Christianity, between business and culture, between purposelessness and worth, between negation and the God-like." Here is a theory which exposes completely the emotional weakness of its author, his own miserable condition in detesting Judaism first of all in himself.

One of the ancient ideals of the Jew is his conception of Israel as the Chosen People of God. One of the elements which Christians often resent is this same tradition, embodied as it is in both Jewish and Christian literature. Hence

it seems to many that the Chosen People theory has been a fruitful cause of resentment and prejudice. Israel Zangwill has presented this idea forcefully in his essay, "The Legend of the Conquering Jew." "After all, a race that keeps mainly to itself, that counts by a different calendar, and celebrates a different series of festivals, is, when it lodges itself in other political organisms, a quasi-foreign body, and human nature being what it is, every field in which the Jew has thus established himself becomes a battlefield, with persecution as the equivalent for the fighting which is for every other people the price of self-maintenance." "The mere existence of the Jew today has been a triumph of idealism; it marks a dissent for the sake of an idea from the dominant forces of Asiatic or European civilization, a protestantism persisted in despite the ceaseless persecution of all the centuries of Pagan or Christian supremacy."

The ideal of the Chosen People would then function in two ways. It maintained the solidarity of the Jew by a constant process of education, a constant appeal to pride and loyalty. It took the place of the doctrines of conquest of many other nations; it was a perfect defense mechanism. At the same time, it aroused suspicion and antagonism among gentiles, who interpreted it as a feeling of superiority on the part of the Jews. As Spinoza said long ago: "It is not surprising that after being scattered for so many years they have preserved their identity without a government of their own, for by their external rites, contrary to those of other nations, as well as by the sign of circumcision, they have isolated themselves from all other nations, even to the extent of drawing upon themselves the hate of all mankind."

The doctrine of the Chosen People is primarily religious.



Its ideal is not conquest but conversion; not domination of other nations by the Jew, but domination of all peoples by God. It is based on the universal as well as the national hope of the great prophets of Israel. Amos laid it down as a principle which would operate against the Jew. "You only have I known of all the families of the earth; therefore I will visit upon you all your iniquities." As developed in the visions of the second Isaiah, this became an obligation to teach the entire world of the one God and the coming of the Messiah. To later Judaism as well the doctrine of the Chosen People was universal, also national. It was a source of inner strength, enabling the Jew to resist force and enticements from the world outside.

But at the same time, serving as a defense against such attacks, it was a constant incitement to criticism. The greater and more powerful peoples resented the Jewish attitude of superiority. Often they took it as meaning that the Jews considered themselves better than others, that the Jews wished to dominate the rest of the world. Even when they interpreted it along Jewish lines, they still resented it, feeling that their revelation through Jesus or Mohammed was intrinsically higher and finer than the Jewish teaching through Moses.

Hence, a strange double effect. The inspiration of the Jew was the suspicion of the gentile. The attack of the outside world strengthened the counter-chauvinism of the Jew. Here, as in most theories of environment, a part of the whole picture is presented, a truth which must be given its place in a general theory of tolerance and intolerance, of the relation of the minority people to its more powerful neighbors.



PART III  
A SOCIOLOGICAL TREATMENT  
OF ANTI-SEMITISM



## CHAPTER XVI

### *The Jew as the Eternal Minority*

THESE MANY REASONS given or alleged for anti-Semitism are all important, some of them as the historical form in which it was embodied at certain times and places, some merely as reflections of the mentality of the anti-Semites themselves. They constitute among them a study, not of Jewish conduct, but of gentile thinking. Some are plainly excuses rather than reasons, a rationalization of prejudice. And prejudice or bias is not rational. It is literally, pre-judgment, judgment on an issue before the facts are known. But many of the reasons given are genuine, and have influenced greatly the form of anti-Semitism in different countries and ages.

The difference between the Spanish Inquisition, the Russian pogroms, and the German restrictive laws—to take three of the most spectacular examples—is a difference of the countries involved, their religious ideas, their education, their economic systems. It indicates also the various social positions which the Jews occupied in sixteenth-century Spain, nineteenth-century Russia, and twentieth-century Germany. But if the Jew meets different but equal persecution in these three places, and varying degrees and kinds of prejudice in hundreds of other nations, there must be a deeper, more fundamental reason for the existence of the prejudice itself.



That deeper reason we shall seek in human nature, and particularly in the nature of human beings in large groups; what is called these days the field of social psychology. The prejudice of one group of people against another is a universal matter which can be readily examined. In certain special cases the prejudice is not between two peoples separated in space, but of a majority group against a minority group living in the same country, showing certain differences from the majority even though they are next-door neighbors. In these cases, and there are many of them, the prejudice is more acute, more personal; its results are sharper and more serious.

It is the fate of the Jew since his dispersion that he is the eternal minority. He lives everywhere; he has lived in ancient Rome, in medieval Germany, in modern America. Through all the ages, he has been a minority, an "island within," as Lewisohn puts it. He has experienced at some time or other all the different reactions which majorities can give toward minorities, from the basic human prejudice backward toward persecution, and forward toward tolerance or even equality. The form has varied, partly according to Jewish life itself, but primarily according to the ideas of the majority. Where religion was the chief human interest, the Jew was found to be different religiously. Where economics became the prime motive, the Jew was either fulfilling a special economic position, of value to society, or he was occupying a lower order in the economic scale, or he was a competitor against the non-Jew. Where nationalism dominated, the Jew seemed to be of different nationality, though often he himself denied it. Where race theories rule mankind, the Jew can be considered a different race.

Other minority groups have experienced one or two of these types of discrimination. As the Jew is older, has had more environments and more experiences, he alone has had to face them all. As Benjamin Ginzburg says in the "Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences": "Perhaps antisemitism will lose its mysteriousness when it is realized that there is nothing specially abnormal or unnatural in the existence of a Jewish group among the various groups which constitute a society." Of course, other minorities have usually their own lands, where they become the majority in turn. Only the Jew is a minority everywhere, even in Palestine. It is a natural ambition that in Palestine at least he shall be able to reverse the situation and live the normal life of a majority people in its own homeland.

The religious divisions of mankind have proved a fruitful cause both for wars between peoples and for oppression of minority groups. In the Middle Ages Christian and Moslem fought in Spain and Palestine; the Crusades were gigantic expressions of religious prejudice, whatever other motives may have entered in. Persecution was the lot of the minority of Moslems in European countries, of Christians in Moslem lands. Social ostracism, lower economic status, even expulsion came to them, as it did to both Moors and Jews in Spain in 1492. The only way out was conformity, joining the dominant faith.

When the Reformation began, this same division took place within Christianity itself. The few heretical groups of the Middle Ages, such as the Albigenses, were mercilessly exterminated. But the great Protestant movement could not be dealt with so simply. So we have the wars of religion between Catholic and Protestant nations, and in individual

countries, innumerable persecutions of one sect by another. There is St. Bartholomew's Eve in France to match the martyrdom of Sir Thomas More in England. One group of dissenters would penalize another; the Quakers were driven out of Massachusetts Bay Colony and four of them actually executed because they persisted in returning; while Calvin burned Servetus as a Unitarian in godly Geneva. Even in the United States of America, a convent was burned in Boston in 1835 by anti-Catholic rioters, and Alfred E. Smith was defeated for President in 1928 largely because he was a Catholic.

The accusations made in such cases run the gamut of most of the religious charges against the Jews, from irreligion to immorality, or even to cannibalism. The early Christians met persecution in the Roman Empire because, like the Jews, they would not worship Caesar and, unlike the Jews, had no standing as one of the constituent nationalities of the Empire. They were properly accused of separatism and pacifism. But they were also charged with ritual murder, with sex orgies in their religious rites, with burning the city of Rome in the year 64 under Nero. The Knights Templars were a great body of Crusaders, who fell on evil days. Their enemies coveted their property and feared their power. So they were accused not only of holding great wealth, which they had partly obtained by usury, and of ostentation and display; they were also said to "burn and roast the children they begat by young girls, and to sacrifice to and anoint their idols with the fat taken off." Probably in both these cases the ridiculous charges were readily believed, just as English children of a century and a quarter ago were brought up with the idea that they had better behave because Bonaparte always ate young children when he got the chance!

The history of the gypsies, since they first appeared in western Asia and Europe after the time of Alexander the Great, has been one long series of persecutions. Similar to Jewish history in length and distribution, their story is different in one important respect. The Jews became part of the advanced civilization of various centuries and often filled an important part in the economy and culture of the nations. The gypsies remained themselves, keeping their tribal organization and nomadic life, which set them apart from the beginning, as well as much of their language and nature-worship. But the law prohibited gypsies from even entering many a land on pain of death. They had no rights which must be observed. They were accused of pilfering, like all nomads, of kidnaping, of murder. Their practice of telling fortunes leagued them with the devil; they were sometimes hanged for black magic.

An outstanding example of modern prejudice against a minority is the case of the American Negro. He was brought to America by force, with untold suffering, to serve as a class of slave labor. The advocates of slavery argued not only on economic grounds but also on the basis of religion and race. The Negro was to them a lower order of humanity, a slave by nature—just as the Syrians and Jews were to the Greeks, the German barbarians to the Romans. Slavery was abolished through a mighty war by the efforts of white humanitarians as well as the economic needs of the new age. But the remains of slavery linger in the South as a caste system. During the past seventy years the Negroes have made great strides, but still remain far below the whites in culture and wealth. So general opinion holds that they are lower by nature, rather than considering the historical fact of their

slow rise from a condition of slavery. The southern Negroes are isolated in separate residence sections, in separate and usually inferior schools, in separate railroad cars, restaurants, and theaters. They are largely deprived of the vote guaranteed them by the Federal Constitution. They are shunted to inferior work, the better type being reserved for the whites.

The movement of southern Negroes to the northern states during the World War has resulted in a transfer of much of this prejudice to their new homes. The wealthy and cultured regard the Negroes as inferior, ignoring their growing number of professional men and of creative artists. The workers fear them as competitors in the labor market. The old American institution of lynch law, the product of our frontier days, is now chiefly employed against Negroes, sometimes on charges of murder or rape, but even more often for very trivial offenses. And the race theory can always be used to rationalize the entire complex system of discrimination.

It is obvious that this situation presents as many marks of difference as of similarity with that of the Jews. The Negroes are the newest and least developed group in America; the Jews are the oldest historic and cultural people in the Occident. The Negroes are poor laborers, almost to a man; the Jews are largely middle-class, with a good many workers and some outstanding wealthy men. The Negroes lost their African culture under slavery, and have today only such American culture as they have learned from their white teachers and neighbors; the Jews are culturally distinct, and even the dominant group owes much to their biblical heritage. The chief distinguishing mark of the Negro is racial, of the Jew, religious and cultural.



Finally, the origins of prejudice are different. With the Negro it is a relic from slavery days. With the Jew, it is an importation from the Old World, the remains of a medieval tradition. But in both cases we see prejudice at work, with its usual method of creating a mass picture of an entire race and applying it to all the individuals of the group, without regard for persons and with no effort to prove the prejudice by facts. Whether expressed as contempt or envy, as fear or hate, prejudice operates according to rules of its own.

The way in which such prejudices are rationalized appears clearly in the movements against Orientals on the Pacific Coast. The first immigrants from the Far East were Chinese. They were rejected with much violence; it was said that they remained separate from American life, preserved their own customs, maintained their connection with China, and even had their bodies sent back to their native land for burial. On the strength of this popular outcry the United States passed a Chinese Exclusion Act. But a few years later the immigrants were Japanese, and the charges were exactly reversed. Now the complaint arose that the immigrants bought land, attended American schools and tried to become assimilated as Americans. And again—for these new and opposite reasons—these immigrants were in their turn excluded from the country.

Today, Europe presents a perfect medley of minority groups: Czechs and Slovaks; Flemings and Walloons; Germans in Italy, Poland, and Denmark; Poles in Germany and Russia; Rumanians in Hungary and Bulgaria; Bulgarians in Yugoslavia and Greece; Albania and Macedonia compounded of many races and religions—the number is almost endless. Here are the roots of fifty hatreds and a

dozen wars. And among them all every country has its Jews. Sometimes, as in Poland, they are as much as 10 per cent. Usually they are much less, and in western Europe are often under 1 per cent. But everywhere the tradition of Jew-hatred, the conspicuousness of the Jews, makes them a focal point of the whole minority situation.

Every person and every group must keep up its own self-respect. But everyone is conscious of certain weaknesses which spoil his own inner picture of himself as a person, and of others which injure his own group pride. So it is only natural that he seeks to make this up by despising some other person or group. If he cannot measure himself against his own ideal, at least he can say, "I am better than you." Such individual preferences are inevitable and are probably, for the most part, quite harmless. They may rest on personal acquaintanceship by which we have decided that we do not like a certain person. They may rest on class or social standards, or on various types of prejudice, in which case they have less reason, but still help the individual without harming any other person unduly.

But group prejudice is of a different type. It rests, not on acquaintance, not even on real qualities of one's own people and the other group, but simply on the stereotypes, on what we have been taught to expect. These stereotypes are curious things. During the nineteenth century the average American considered the Germans a dreamy, impractical people; their picture was ornamented with dwarfs and elves from the fairy tales and was shown to an accompaniment of Brahms or Mendelssohn. But the World War broke out; the German was speedily turned into the "Prussian" or the "Hun." The substitution of one word for another indicated a new way of

thinking of the entire group of people. Statues were torn down, innocent dachshunds kicked and beaten, while sauerkraut was renamed "liberty cabbage"! In this special instance such group thinking was certainly not necessary; the millions of Germans who have settled in America are of many different temperaments and personalities, and every American probably knows a number of them. But all this was ignored in the need to think as a nation and to look down on some other people in order to exalt ourselves.

The mark of difference between our group and the other may be of any kind whatsoever. It may be biological, such as skin color. It may, and usually is, purely social—religion, language, government, habits, and customs. To ignorant people everywhere the man who speaks a foreign language instead of ours seems ignorant and at the same time sinister; he cannot understand the simple things we say; we feel he speaks secrets, doubtless about us. In the Kentucky or Tennessee mountains, any person from outside their territory, with the clothing and the speech of the majority of Americans, is a "foreigner" and is subjected to suspicion and even mistreatment. Any type of difference becomes the peg on which we hang our stereotyped judgments of the entire group, even of those who do not show this special mark. If we know several people of the despised group who are not rude or ignorant or brutal, we put them down as exceptions, and hate their people just as much as before. It is the characteristic of group thinking that its judgments are tied up with prejudices, developed by repetition (what we have come to call "propaganda"), and seldom subject to revision by intelligence.

It is obvious that this describes much anti-Jewish prejudice.

For the Jews are different. In ancient Rome they observed the Sabbath and worshiped a single God. In medieval Europe they were aliens, living under their own law, never accepting the dominant Church. In modern America they are still a different people, set apart by religion, history, habits, traditions. They are part of the so-called "new" immigration, comprised of Italians, Slavs, and Jews, while the earlier immigration, before 1880, was chiefly of Irish, Germans, and Scandinavians. The preference for the old immigration over the new was expressed in the successive laws for the limitation of immigrants, not only in total numbers, but also in their relative proportions of the whole. The Jews are not different from other white nations in race, but they may sometimes seem so because of their different clothing and habits, which look like parts of the person to the uncritical. As a group, moreover, immigrant Jews do present a certain physical type, which may be Polish or Russian, but which is foreign in England or America.

But a racial difference is not necessary for group prejudice. The wars of Catholics and Protestants, of French and Germans, of Chinese and Japanese, illustrate this. Any difference, however trivial, may be enough. In a small southern town in the United States, the difference may merely set apart a Baptist minority from a Methodist majority; or the lone northern Republican from the southern Democrats about him.

Even the acceptance of the majority standard does not always mean recognition, if the prejudice is deep enough, or if it proves socially useful to the majority group. The Jews of Spain were forcibly baptized in the year 1492 and those of Portugal four years later. But their remote descendants

had to suffer as Jews, or at least as "new Christians." The Inquisition suspected those descendants, most of them of mixed blood, two centuries later. Even today, after more than four centuries, when religious equality is assured in the Spanish Constitution, social prejudice still operates in isolated sections, such as Majorca. Blasco Ibáñez has a thrilling novel, "The Dead Command," which deals with the caste system in that little island, and the sensation which ensues when the descendant of an old noble family actually marries a girl from among the Chuetas, the "dogs," as the "new Christians" are still known.

In Germany likewise, the century-long effort at assimilation of the Jews has gone for naught. Probably Lewisohn is incorrect when he states that assimilation is the cause of anti-Semitism in modern Germany; it merely provides the frame for the present movement against the Jews. But certainly the National Socialists are even more bitter against the descendants of baptized and intermarried Jews than against those who are Jews themselves by faith and personal loyalty. Heine was baptized; Mendelssohn was educated as a Christian; yet their works are proscribed, and the "Aryan clause" inquires into grandparents and sometimes even into great-grandparents in order to hunt out the Jews. Germany has actually created a large minority of such pariahs in order to have someone to oppress in her present crisis, as the Jews themselves were not numerous nor important enough for her purpose.

The "consciousness of kind" need not, then, be an obvious matter, based on plain external facts; it may be a composite, built up out of trivialities by an elaborate process of education and propaganda. But it is plain that the group feeling



is ordinarily developed by contrast or struggle with some other group. The contacts between one land and another, one nation and another, bring a feeling of unity in each. These contacts may be either of imitation or competition, though the former is usually quiet and insidious, while the latter is open and conspicuous. Or the nation may find its contrast against a minority within its own body, a religious, political or ethnic group that presents certain marks of difference from the majority, or at least from the ideal of that majority, a difference from what they are or what they think they are.

In this way the conflict with the outside nation serves to strengthen loyalty, patriotism within. In the same way the repression of minorities is a measure of social control, to iron out differences and develop a unity of the nation. A dictatorship may do this by force, a democracy by the pressure of public opinion. But in any case certain standards are set up for what makes a good American, a good German, a good Turk, or a good Yugoslav. And the minority group, if it has a single mark of difference, provides the contrast which brings out the ideal of the nation as a whole. It may then be singled out for discussion, as an indication of breaking away from the group standard. Or it may be subject to milder or stronger pressure, running all the way from social exclusion to the penalties of the law or to mob violence. The existence of such a minority group is a splendid aid in uniting the rest of the nation. The only alternative to it sometimes seems to be a foreign war. The minority is the scapegoat for the sins or the weaknesses of society, the enemy against whom the nation can unite.

We see this function very clearly in the place of the Negro

in America or that of the Jew in Germany. As Zangwill remarks: "The conscious pretexts for anti-Semitism vary historically in every country; they may all be reduced to one simple syllogism. Every country has Jews, every country has evils; therefore the Jews are the cause of all the evils. Such is the crude logic of Demos and demagogues. Even the better politicians like a whipping-boy. The Jews are as good as a foreign war in diverting attention from domestic troubles, and infinitely more economical." While Dr. Alfons Goldschmidt quotes a sixteenth-century work by Andreas Osiander to the same effect. He wrote:

"Persecution of the Jews ensues:

"1. When a prince is avaricious, despotic, and impatient;

"2. When his counsellors and officials resemble him;

"3. When monks or the clergy long for new pilgrimages, to give the impression of greater sanctity;

"4. When a ruler's subjects owe the Jews enormous sums of money;

"5. When superstitious people, treasure hunters, the exorcisers of ghosts, and the like, kill children to feed their superstitious beliefs;

"6. When murder has been committed by other persons or caused by neglect, but the Jews are blamed."

This "dislike of the unlike," which we have mentioned before, operates frequently among animals, as when the wolf pack attacks the strange wolf or the beehive drives out the bee from another hive. It seems quite general, though not universal, among primitive societies. The Greeks called all non-Hellenes "barbarians," even the Egyptians, their teachers. The Romans used the same word, *hostis*, for stranger and

for enemy. There seems a natural suspicion of the people who are different, a fear, a suspension of judgment at first meeting them. But this need not and often does not result in enmity. Differences may be admired or feared or hated. The insane, in older societies, were often brutally imprisoned and mistreated, but just as often were looked upon as inspired by the gods and given special privileges. Departures from the norm may indicate inferiority or originality and a great social asset. The stranger may be the prey of the tribe where he finds himself, or he may be protected by the gods and reverently treated.

In any special case, the decision is made by the traditions of the particular group. We build up social standards as to how far individual dissent or group differences may go, and of what kind they shall be. We have an elaborate machinery for teaching the children these standards. The southern white child plays with the children of Negro servants naturally when he finds them in his mother's kitchen or laundry. He soon learns that he may associate with his Negro nurse, even with her children if she brings them to his house. As he grows older he adopts the entire standard of his own group: the Negro is all right "in his place," and that place is a servile one, a lower caste. The Negro is not to be mistreated so long as he is content to serve the whites, not to compete with them in their chosen lines of work, not to demand social, political, or economic equality. The moment he does any of these things, he is to be suppressed by public opinion, by law, even by the violence of the lynching mob. All our social standards are matters of education, through the complicated processes of the home, the church, the school, and then by a diverse body of influences: newspaper, radio, and

the general attitude of our neighbors. The standard of group unity is implanted by education exactly like all the others, like language, food habits, or religion. Bruno Lasker has made an elaborate study of group prejudice among children, which brings out this point in detail. Intolerance is simply a mode of group thinking, developed for group unity and defense, implanted in children through group education.

But we have observed that intolerance works very differently under various conditions. It varies in Jewish history somewhat according to the actions of the Jews, and far more according to the opinions and attitudes of the non-Jews. So we must next observe the working of intolerance, the times and places when this social pressure is applied to the minority. We cannot apply these in any strict way, but we can observe clearly certain conditions of intolerance.

First, it is a matter of numbers. Not any specific number, but merely that the minority group must be noticeable before the prejudice arises. If it has once arisen, it can persist for centuries without a single example of the minority in sight, like Jew-hatred in England from the expulsion of Jews in 1290 until their gradual return in the time of Cromwell. But the Jews were there first for two centuries, during which the prejudice became so acute that they were first robbed, then murdered, then expelled. The late Julius Drachslor worked out a series of conditions for the growth of prejudice, but probably some of these are too strict to be applied everywhere. One was: "The intensity of prejudice is dependent upon the relative size of groups; the smaller the minority group, the smaller tends to be the intensity of the prejudicial attitude." Roughly, this is true. The Jewish problem in Poland is serious because it concerns 10 per cent of the

nation; so is the Negro problem in the United States. The people of Ohio or Nebraska feel little prejudice against Japanese or Mexicans; this arises in California and Texas, where these peoples are conspicuous. But the matter is less mechanical than that, for imagination can swell a minority, or popular leaders can inflate it to the necessary menace.

There is only 1 per cent of Jews in Nazi Germany, or by Nazi count only 5 per cent, including millions of people who are not Jews at all in their own tradition, religion or loyalty. There was well under 1 per cent in France during the Dreyfus case. Because of the prominence of the Jews in world history, and especially in Christian tradition, it requires a far smaller number of them than of any other people to arouse prejudice. Still, we can see that the growth of anti-Semitism in the United States is due, not only to the imported prejudice from Europe, but just as much to the growth of the Jewish community in this country. The prejudice which formerly attacked the Catholics, the Irish, the Germans, is now directed largely against the Jews because the Jews are here. But even now the Jews are fewer than either Irish or Germans, who have become accepted as Americans and no longer form a distinct group.

We must add that prejudice corresponds also to the amount of distinctness of the minority group. Not always to its exact difference from the majority, but simply to the clearness with which that difference can be perceived by members of the majority. Here is the place where the most superficial, if obvious, differences play a great rôle. Language, customs, clothing, worship, especially color of skin are conspicuous marks of difference. None of them may mark a really important difference between peoples; in every case there is



much overlapping of temperaments, opinions, character; but the majority can seize on them as signs of the minority.

The place where prejudice operates is ordinarily at a border between the two peoples. National boundaries are such borders, and national boundaries are the places of greatest suspicion and of frequent outbreaks. That is where the Frenchman meets the German, not as an isolated individual, business man or tourist, but as a German, a member of a foreign and hostile nation. The same is true of the minority within the national boundaries. There are border lines here where the contacts are not on an individual or personal basis, but group contacts, of class with class, occupying different positions in society. Such a group contact comes when the prejudice of the majority meets the solidarity of the minority, which is partly the creation of a different education and tradition, partly the direct result of the prejudice itself.

But the peculiarity of the situation of the Jews is that every group of Jews the world over lives on such a border line. Among the infinite variety of prejudices, due to the nature of both minority and majority groups, anti-Semitism is the most universal and most severe just because of this fact. Every Jew is living on a Franco-German frontier, whether it be a Franco-Jewish or a German-Jewish one. That is why anti-Semitism may be milder or more severe, but never disappears entirely, as other types of group prejudice often do.

When do these universal but often latent feelings of prejudice come to a crisis, or even a great outbreak? At times of social and economic change, when there is need for a scapegoat; when emotions are aroused; at times of tension or excitement or acute misery. As Drachsler puts it: "Prejudice is dependent also upon the relative degree of social and eco-

conomic subordination or stratification of the groups involved; change in economic status on the part of the minority group tends to create a situation in which prejudice is intensified." Here Dr. Drachsler seems to be speaking of one type of prejudice only, of the type that appears in direct outbreaks. Certainly, the caste system of India prevents collision, but only by imposing a system of complete separation of castes and of entire subjection for the lower ones. It is not avoidance of prejudice, but a crystallization of it, comparable to the situation of the Jew during much of the Middle Ages. But there is no doubt that rapid changes in the world at large bring on conflict and intensify prejudice against the minority.

War brings prejudice; one need only think of the situation of Germans in England during the World War, or of the Copperheads in the North during the Civil War. Depressions bring prejudice, blaming the minority for the misery of the mass of the people, as in pre-war Poland or post-war Germany. But any type of excitement may do the same: the Black Death, which left the survivors miserable and helpless in the face of an unknown danger and set them to massacring the Jews; religious revivals, such as the Crusades, which started a world moving against the infidel; the unrest of the Renaissance, which aroused the Inquisition as a response.

To glance at recent American experience, prejudice grew against Germans during the war, and the Jews were identified often as Germans because of their German dialect, the Yiddish language, and their frequent German names; it turned after the war to the radicals, the "reds," and the Jews were again identified with the alien menace because some of them were radicals, because many of them had Russian names, and—in both cases—because the Jew belonged to the

hated minority and was therefore a proper object of enmity.

Or to turn to the great outbreaks of anti-Semitism in the past, which we have reviewed in the first portion of this book. The world is today in its third great wave of anti-Jewish feeling, and all three have come in periods of transition, of struggle, of enormous changes and tremendous waves of emotion. The first was the period of the First Crusade, when all western Europe was raging against the Moslem world. The marching of armies, the mystical excitement of religious visionaries, the setting free of disorderly elements usually repressed in the caste system of the Middle Ages, made for a period of massacres, of repression, of outlawry for the Jews. The second was the late Renaissance, culminating with the expulsion from Spain in 1492. Again, an era of wars, of discoveries, of national and international tumult. The Inquisition in Spain was followed by the expulsion; that, in turn, was followed by the establishment of ghettos in every city where Jews were suffered to dwell and by numerous expulsions even from these very ghettos, these sorry streets of refuge. The third period is the present one, a time of rising nationalism, of the World War, of the great depression of the 1930's, of tension within and between nations. Here, as in the other two cases, hatred of the minority has become a release, often in the minds of its votaries a patriotic duty; again the Jew has suffered more than any other group as the one minority which exists everywhere.

The twentieth-century world in turmoil brings out sharply the issues of tolerance and intolerance. We have less today than at any time in the past a simple opposition of one group

to another. We have an infinite overlapping of groups. The same person belongs to a family, a church, a political party, a professional society, a race, and a nation. He may, in addition, belong to various clubs and fraternal orders. In some of these he opposes different groups on the same level. In other connections he meets members of these different groups in a direct, even an intimate manner. He may have no contact with Jews in his church, but meets them in business or the American Legion. He may exclude them from his private club but he needs them in his political party. Many of these organizations, such as churches, scientific societies, and economic groupings, are international, overlapping even the boundaries of nations.

Professor Herbert A. Miller classifies these many groups as "horizontal" and "vertical," expressing their crisscrossing nature in the actual structure of the present world. The vertical groups are nations, the horizontal ones classes. Each nation includes every social and economic class; each economic class is world-wide, possessing sympathies with similar classes in other nations. The communists object to race hatred and international war because they have substituted the horizontal for the vertical classification. They are ready enough to hate and even to oppress the nobility or the bourgeoisie, but they defend the Jew, the traditional oppressed class of Russia.

In any case, the individual must decide to which of all his affiliations he owes the greatest loyalty. He may go pacifist with his church or militarist with his nation. He may favor a general strike with his class, or suppress it against his own class for the real or supposed benefit of the nation against other nations. He may favor new ideas in science

but oppose and suppress them in religion or economics. And in all this welter of groups and classes, the Jew stands distinct. He has representatives in every nation, every trade, every social class—but they are still Jews. He has shades of religious opinion and of irreligion within his own body; he has even numbers who have joined other religious bodies—but they are all Jews.

The widest view of tolerance and intolerance is expressed by Bernard Shaw in the preface to "Saint Joan": "Thus all society is founded on intolerance, all improvement is founded on tolerance. We must persecute, even to the death, and all that we can do to mitigate the danger of persecution is, first, to be very careful what we persecute, and second, to bear in mind that unless there is a large liberty to shock unconventional people, and a well informed sense of the value of originality, individuality, and eccentricity, the result will be apparent stagnation covering a repression of evolutionary forces which will eventually explode with extravagant and probably destructive violence."

The trend of the majority for uniformity thus means the destruction of important values. It destroys individual liberty. It impedes progress. It interrupts the constant flowering of every variety of human life, and reduces the nation or the world to a standardized and uninspired level. Natural as it is, it becomes a menace which must be counteracted by the assertion of individuality, including the individuality of groups as well as persons. The world is a richer and finer world because of every minority which is really different, which produces a religion, a culture, an ethic of its own.

Much has been made of the growth of tolerance in the past two centuries. In part this is true; in part it is only



the shift from one alignment to another. Tolerance toward a certain group increases when the particular animus that roused intolerance changes, when the minority is absorbed in the majority and disappears as a special object of intolerance, or when individual thinking takes the place of group thinking in this particular matter. There have always been individual friendly relations between Jews and non-Jews, sometimes as pupil and teacher, sometimes in conversion, sometimes in the form of intermarriage. The recurring Church prohibitions of contact with Jews in an era of the greatest intolerance suggest that there must have been some occasion to repeat the same old laws again and again.

The eighteenth century witnessed a rapid fall in religious prejudice because of growing nationalism and of shifting interest from religion to nationality. The Jews received equal rights in revolutionary France as a part of the general scheme of human rights; it may have aided the process a little that there were almost no Jews living in France at that time to receive these rights. If there had been a large Jewish minority in that country, a far stronger prejudice would have been present for the revolutionary enthusiasm to overcome.

In the same era, impelled by the same distaste for religious prejudice, the same belief in the rights of man, the Jews of the American colonies were accorded tolerance, and finally in the Constitution were granted equal political and civil rights. But nobody made the Jew the same as the Christian, and social discrimination continued. Its scale was a small one, because the engrossing problems of the new nation swallowed up many group hatreds and prejudices. When the minority problem arose in the 1830's, the Catholics were the chief minority who incensed the Know-Nothing party. Then

came the Civil War and the Reconstruction period which caused the Negro minority to become the center of attention.

The vast number of different minorities in the United States could hardly reach any principle of union of many groups against one. They must either be entirely disunited, a nation of groups, or—what has actually developed—must forget many of their former hatreds and rivalries for a new principle of union, which is called Americanism. Hence the weakening of many types of intolerance in America, including that against the Jew. Even the prejudice against the Negro has been modified, in spite of the heritage of slavery and the Civil War. It yet remains the strongest in America; perhaps because he is the largest minority in America, perhaps because his color makes him the most conspicuous of all, perhaps because of the economic differences which survive from his former servile status. However that may be, the internal history of the United States, like the eighteenth-century theory of the Rights of Man, has made for a lessening of group prejudice in general, and particularly for a decrease in anti-Semitism.

On the whole, the amount of anti-Semitism in any country of Europe can be roughly guessed by the percentage of Jews in the total population. But there are other conditions present. The most of the Jews live in central and eastern Europe; these nations are the poorest and most ignorant, often the most bigoted. Certainly the ignorance and poverty of the people is as much of an element in their prejudices as the numbers of a certain minority, especially as most of the anti-Semites are simple folk with no interest in statistics. It happens that in eastern Europe there are two nations with large numbers of Jews, but little anti-Semitism—Czechoslovakia

and Russia. The former has 2.5 per cent of Jews, as well as a half-dozen other minority problems; it has suppressed the worst forms of prejudice, however, because it is a democratic and prosperous country. European Russia contains about two and a half million Jews, about 2 per cent of its total population. In some sections, such as White Russia and the Ukraine, the percentage runs between 5 and 8, as high as Rumania and almost as high as Poland. But in Russia, as we have seen, the basis of group opposition has been shifted from religion and nationality to the struggle of economic classes; here the Jews are actually defended from anti-Semitism, now identified with the older régime of the Tsars.

The Scandinavian countries, Great Britain, and Italy are practically free from anti-Semitism; in all these the number of Jews is less than 1 per cent. The remarkable feature is that England was in the early Middle Ages a hot-bed of Jew-hatred, which largely died down during the centuries of their exile from the country. There was outspoken opposition to their return, but no ghetto was ever organized in England. The large number of Jews in England today is still a very small proportion of the total population; much of this immigrant group has already been thoroughly absorbed; anti-Semitism is now a rarity, a product imported together with fascism, from the Continent. Italy was long a land of bitter hatred of the Jews; it was the site of the first ghetto, the seat of the heads of the Church; in southern Italy, which was long Spanish, no Jew was permitted to live. Fascist Italy is certainly a land of intolerance along political and economic lines. But the fifty thousand Jews of that land are a petty number, who have lived in the country for untold gener-

ations, who act and think like other Italians, and remain unmolested.

Even in this day of unprecedented turmoil and terrific anti-Semitism, then, we can trace three tendencies in various environments. In dictatorships, such as Germany, anti-Semitism is official governmental policy. In communist Russia anti-Semitism is illegal and suppressed. In democratic countries like America agitation is constantly noted, both against and for the Jew. Neither attackers nor attacked are suppressed, but both may express themselves, subject only to the rare appeal to the libel laws. In these other countries the strength of anti-Semitism depends on various factors: on the size and strength of the Jewish minority, on the stability of the social structure, on the relative poverty and misery of the people. Other factors stand in the background, such as the ignorance of Rumania, the Catholic tradition of Poland, the group structure of the United States.

Of all oppressed minorities, the Jew is the most ubiquitous and consequently the most oppressed. But because of his very scattering, the Jew also lives in lands of less misery, of more enlightenment, and of less oppression. The danger is everywhere, but the reality of oppression is limited to a certain environment. As we glance about the world, we can see a sliding scale: complete equality, tolerance, discrimination, oppression, complete proscription. With the growth of the factors that make for misery, for unrest, for hatred in the world outside, the Jew suffers always as the eternal minority among the nations.

## CHAPTER XVII

### *The Results of Anti-Semitism*

THE SITUATION of the majority and minority groups in various nations, and hence the problem of anti-Semitism, has a complicated series of results. These results are good and bad for both the majority and the minority. On the whole, it appears from this study that the dangerous and harmful results far outweigh the useful ones. But they are of a different kind, and in many cases a tyrant or a demagogue may be blind to them entirely, or may even be willing to accept them for what he considers the valuable or even necessary purpose of oppressing the minority group. Probably neither Torquemada nor Hitler really grasped the tremendous damage done to Spain or Germany by their policy toward the Jews; but if they did, in either case they would have agreed that this was necessary, in the one case for the spread of the Christian religion, in the other for the elimination of "Jewish influence" from the German people.

The nation which oppresses, eliminates, or assimilates a minority people does so in order to enforce unity or even complete uniformity within its boundaries. The identification of land and government with the national culture makes this the obvious course of action for rulers. When a disputed province, such as Alsace-Lorraine, changes hands, it ordinarily means that the language of the courts, the schools, and



all official business is changed from French to German or from German to French. The language of the minority is suppressed in many ways, both subtle and open. The minority may be given inducements to forget its old allegiance and accept the national loyalty of the new rulers, or it may be treated as a conquered province.

The Jews have often had to face this type of situation. Under Antiochus, under Ferdinand and Isabella, under Hitler, the ruling power has tried to absorb or eliminate them—in every case to destroy their identity as Jews. In the first case, the ruler failed; in the second, he succeeded; the third is still in process, and its outcome cannot possibly be predicted. But we must realize that in each of these examples the majority was united far more firmly because of the presence of the Jews. The Jews served the part of a foreign enemy; they were, as the Nazis say, the "enemy within." It is easier to unite people against a common foe than in favor of any ideal, however appealing. The League of Nations has never had the unity of the Allied Powers before its organization, simply because it is a League for peace and not an alliance for war. The nations of Europe might speedily forget their enmities if they were invaded by a new horde of Mongols from Asia. The peoples of the earth would soon unite if they had to repel an invasion from Mars. But to the autocrat or party which desires to unite a nation under present conditions, the best device is a national enemy—and the minority may be made to serve that doubtful but useful function.

Beside this, the minority may and often does act as scapegoat to swerve the attention of rebels from real evils, or to take the blame for the sins of the government or the miseries

of the people. Rulers like the Tsars undoubtedly resorted to anti-Semitism for this purpose, as in the rise of the Black Hundreds, the Kishinev massacre, and the original publication of the Protocols. The device was effective; combined with the concession of the Duma it postponed revolution twelve years until the losses of the World War. A demagogue like Hitler based his whole program for ascendancy on anti-Semitism, along with several other popular appeals. Observers agree that this was by all odds the most useful plank in his preliminary platform, because it united all classes of his followers, with their varying social and economic views, against a common enemy. It has served him equally well as a ruler. Like the autocracy of Russia, he was always able to blame any specific evil on the Jews. Whenever he failed to solve an international or domestic problem, he might easily blame the Jews, the marked foes of National Socialism, for the existence of the difficulty, as well as his failure itself.

During the time of the French Revolution it was customary to ascribe liberalism to the plots of the Freemasons. The twentieth century, in the same way, sees the reactionaries identifying communists and Jews in the large. This defense is far easier than refuting arguments; it merely uses the minority as a scapegoat and punishes it for larger and often insoluble problems. So the method today is to imply that all Jews are communists and all communists Jews. That throws an aspersion on each group and prejudices the mass against them by the convenient use of mental stereotypes. Very frequently it averts a threatened revolution or other disaster to the party in power.

But the desirable results of anti-Semitism, or of any oppression of any minority, are specious and deceiving. Like a war,

it may solve one problem, only to raise more and greater difficulties. The artificial unity of the people, if it be achieved—and this is by no means always the case—is accomplished at the expense of introducing a principle of disunion into the national life, where it did not exist before. As Professor Miller says: "Anti-Semitism is the finest thing that could be devised for holding the Jews together, but it is a serious menace to those who harbor it. Within Poland the Jew serves as a political and social factor which keeps up irritation and diverts attention from the immediate practical problems of political life."

The German Jews considered themselves good Germans; they wanted nothing else; they volunteered for service in the World War, were deeply grateful and proud of their recently given civil rights. Of all the discriminations of the Nazi régime the one they resent most deeply is the exemption from the military draft, which converts them into second-class citizens. Now this discrimination has made them and their sympathizers bitterly resentful. The criticism of the Old Testament has brought both Catholic and Protestant churchmen into the fray. The arbitrary violation of civil rights, both of Jews and others, has arrayed all the friends of liberty the world over against the Nazis.

Moreover, even if it succeeded, the attempt to stamp out all diversity and reduce the entire nation to a uniform standard would have a degenerative effect. It has often been pointed out that the decline of Spain began about the time of the expulsion of the Jews and Moors. This was by no means the only reason; there were also the draining of the best men to the colonies, the glut of gold, the wars of the Empire. But certainly one cause of this decline was the

stamping out of originality, of diversity, by the Inquisition and the King. The highest type of civilization is not that produced by a leveling process, but that of a cross-fertilization of cultures. The modern theory of cultural pluralism expresses a fact in the life of nations. The great values of diversity for the richness and variety of a people's thought, the originality which comes from different types of minds reacting on and influencing one another—all these are lost by the effort at enforced unity.

There are here two radically opposed ideals of the life of peoples. The fascist ideal is one of uniformity under the control of an all-powerful ruler. The democratic ideal is one of the independence of the individual mind and of the minority group, under a certain measure of control or limitation by the majority. No complete freedom is of course possible. But the range is very wide between a single standard of religion, art, music, literature, politics, and every other phase of group life, such as the fascists hope for, and a large degree of freedom and diversity in these different fields. The wider the latitude permitted, the greater the possibilities of original thinking and the richer the cultural life of the people. The ideal of American life, for example, is not a uniformity where every person and every group thinks and acts in exactly the same way. The ideal is a symphony where every person and every group contributes his note in a harmonious combination. The Melting Pot idea is a fallacious one in spite of its popular appeal as voiced by Israel Zangwill; by losing its own identity every group must also give up its own special contribution to the life of the nation as a whole.

Finally, oppression is itself immoral and introduces a prin-

ciple of immorality into the national life. Compulsion violates the personality of the individual or the minority. People are turned into things, tools for the use of the ruler or the governing class. Instead of serving the people, the ruler makes the people serve him or serve some vague national ideal, such as expansion or war, which may even be immoral in itself. Individuals must give up the individuality so sacred to each of them for a supposed ultimate good, which may or may not develop. In the economic field, the worker must relinquish the right to strike, must accept a lower standard of living. In the field of religion, men must worship, not as they themselves feel, but according to the dictates of another, whose needs are not their own or who may even lay down rules, not for the sake of religion but of policy. The appeal to force, which is kept in reserve as the final strength of every government, is used frequently and with aggressiveness. The sadist, the egotist have their opportunity. The propaganda which accompanies any such system of oppression is in most cases a definite infraction of the known fact. Even if it builds on facts, it distorts and overemphasizes them until the final result is an untruth.

The effect of such propaganda is obvious in America in the mistaken ideas of many honest people about the Negro; in Europe in the distorted and untrue picture of the Jew given out for public consumption. The results of oppression and violence appear in the lynchings in our own country, no less than in the castor oil administered to Italian socialists, or the concentration camps which have become torture hells for Jews and liberals in Germany. The results of complete uniformity under force are seen in countries where that method has been employed for longer periods, such as Spain



under the Inquisition or Russia under the Tsars. The apparent or temporary value of suppressing minorities is many times outweighed by the untruth, the violence, the elimination of natural and wholesome differences among peoples.

The results on the oppressed groups are even more striking, with the dangerous and unfortunate ones outstanding. Here, as in most parts of this book, we can consider the Jews merely as the classic example of the oppressed minority. As Professor Herbert A. Miller points out, in his "Races, Nations and Classes," there is a frequent reaction of oppressed groups which he calls the "oppression psychosis." He defines this as "the balked disposition of a group, which is reflected by all of the members characteristically." Such an oppressed minority, he considers, is normally subjective, has a tendency to suspicion, is aggressive in order to make up for its disabilities, seizes on certain symbols, such as language or religion, as defensive institutions. "What we have designated as Jewish characteristics are primarily based on the nervous reactions which have resulted from more varieties and longer oppression than those of any other group. The Jew is introspective, analytical, aggressive, and conspicuous."

Many of the results of anti-Semitism have thus been disastrous for the Jews. Murder robs a people of many of its members, including some of its most able and courageous fighters. The allurements of assimilation, whether by the baptismal font or the slower process of intermarriage, have drawn away many, including ambitious intellectuals. The rest of the people, living under constant fear, have developed a most unwholesome attitude of resentment and suspicion in early childhood. It is a remarkable thing that this attitude

is not more extreme and more general among Jews than we find it; every external force has been exerted to make it universal and deep-seated. A typical Russian immigrant tells me that in childhood his mother often called to him and his little brothers: "Run and hide, children. A goy is coming into the shop." Here we find the memory of pogroms followed by fears of what the next hour may bring. Only a deep-seated faith in God could sustain a people under such abnormal conditions.

Naturally, a large proportion of any minority grow up to believe what the majority has told them about themselves. The inferiority complex is a frequent result of oppression. We have many examples of such a sense of inferiority among Jews, often among very brilliant ones, who were thoroughly conscious that they personally were superior people. Some of these were possibly trying to escape the external results of oppression, but it seems plain from their words that others of them felt that the reiterated statements of Jewish inferiority were not without basis. This is only natural when the churches, schools, press, and even so-called science constantly repeat the same story; the child reared under these influences of the majority group, with far less education from his own people, grows to believe the assertions about the Jew as he does other teachings of his schooldays.

Heinrich Heine once said that Judaism was not a religion, but a misfortune. He remarked about the old men in the Jewish home for the aged in Hamburg that they were "suffering from three diseases—old age, poverty and Judaism." Karl Marx was a bold and clear thinker on general social problems, but his analysis of the Jewish question shows definitely his own bias and sense of inferiority. No non-Jew,

even an anti-Semite, would have said exactly the things that Marx did of the Jews—that they were not a race, nation, or religion, but only an economic class. Most of the facts stood, as they still stand, against this idea; but Marx was rationalizing a prejudice, even a prejudice against himself. The extreme of self-hatred and self-contempt, which becomes a real mental disease, is evident in the work of Otto Weininger, whom we have already quoted. It is no wonder that Jewish converts to Christianity have often been among the worst oppressors, that they have given false evidence against the Talmud, that they led massacres in the Middle Ages and lent their voices to charges against the Jews in modern times. Reared with this contempt of their own people, seeking to identify themselves with the majority, they had to show as strongly as possible that they themselves were no longer Jews.

The inferiority complex shows itself in two different ways, apparently opposite. It may lead to extreme doubting and fear, to hiding one's Jewish identity, to a greater or lesser amount of assimilation. Or it may lead to suspicion, aggressiveness, what the Freudian school calls "over-compensation" for an inferiority, real or imagined. The two are simply different phases of the same feeling; the choice between them depends on the character of the individual as well as the amount of prejudice he has had to face personally. We notice that these are two very common charges against the Jews, from Roman times to the present day. As Miller says: "The method by which the Jew has had to survive is the method which makes his survival so often offensive to those among whom he lives. He is the finest example of the mistaken

method by which people live together that we have ever had. He is a manifestation of the psychological result of the kind of oppression which has become psychopathic."

The Jew is often charged with extreme and unfair methods in competition. But he starts with this sense of inferiority; he knows that he must work harder than others, show better results, in order to gain the same recognition in school, business or profession. Deprived of one type of career, he often devotes so much the greater industry and energy toward success in another field in order to prove to himself, if not to the world, his own ability. Sometimes he is truculent, expecting a slight or insult even when none is intended, magnifying petty snubbing to serious affronts in order to resent them. This particular attitude is probably not so general among Jews as among the Irish, with their rather different history of oppression, but traces of it appear among all oppressed peoples. Display, ostentation, so characteristic of the climber in society, are also fairly common among Jews, not only because some Jews are *nouveaux riches*, but because whole classes of Jews are trying to raise themselves against discrimination to an assured status in a gentile world. Such traits as these are Jewish traits only because they are common among Jews and are induced by the conditions under which Jews must live—not at all because of any hereditary tendency, and certainly not because all Jews partake of them. As a matter of fact, vast numbers of Jews in eastern Europe are pure dreamers, *Luftmenschen*, who exist no one knows how, and find their only reality in the realm of imagination, theory, or even mysticism. Even traits induced by conditions do not apply equally or in the same way to the entire people.

The exact opposite of this aggressiveness is probably an even more common result of a sense of inferiority. Flight is its typical form, flight from one's people and one's self. One is tempted to moralize here, to speak of cowardice or treachery; but we must remember that we are discussing sick souls, people whose experiences have proved unbearable. Judaism is a misfortune to them as it was to Heine. The inner weakness is certainly greater if there is lack of Jewish knowledge, customs, religion and home background; but the inferiority complex may exist in spite of all these, based on the overwhelming judgment of the enemies of Israel. Ludwig Lewisohn condemns this flight to such an extreme that he even calls German anti-Semitism a result of Jewish assimilation. George Sokolsky in his book, "We Jews," devotes an entire chapter to "Jews that pass," emphasizing this flight from Judaism far more than the corresponding suspicion and aggressiveness. He lists the devices of assimilation: change of name, conversion to Christianity, intermarriage, even facial surgery. And he shows how in very many cases one cannot succeed even in flight; his origin finds him out, and he has the double unhappiness of flight and of failure.

But if the unhappy results of anti-Semitism on the Jew are numerous and far-reaching, this problem has another aspect. In resistance, adaptation, and social selection anti-Semitism has immeasurably strengthened the Jews. As Dr. Miller puts it: "The most outstanding result of the oppression psychosis is to create a group solidarity which is far stronger than could have been created by any other means. Whenever there is a conflict, both sides increase their solidarity; but the one which loses and is dominated has the supplementary emotion of hate to stimulate its unity." So whether one deals with



the Irish, the Poles or the Jews, the oppressed minority is beaten into unity by the hammers of the oppressor. The very unification of the majority group, for which the oppressors are striving, results in a further strengthening of the minority to resist them. For this kind of war creates its own enemy. The Jews of Germany, or a large part of them, were already assimilated and doing their utmost to disappear as Jews; now, under Hitler, they have become self-conscious Jews, are again praying in the synagogues, learning Hebrew, yearning for Zion. The very tendencies which they had long deserted have now become their life blood.

The mission of suffering, which has become a dogma in Christianity, has also struck commentators on the Jew. As Zunz wrote a century ago in a famous passage translated by that philo-Semite, George Eliot: "If there are ranks in suffering, Israel takes precedence of all the nations; if the duration of sorrows and the patience with which they are borne ennoble, the Jews are among the aristocracy of every land; if a literature is called rich in the possession of a few classic tragedies, what shall we say to a national tragedy lasting for fifteen hundred years, in which the poets and the actors were also the heroes?"

Zangwill comments on the same theme with typical bitterness: "To suffer two thousand years for an idea is a privilege that has been accorded only to Israel, 'the soldier of God.' That were no tragedy, but an heroic epic. The true tragedy, the saddest sorrow, lay in the martyrdom of an Israel unworthy of its sufferings." Oppression solidifies, drives the oppressed group into a life of its own; suffering ennobles, purifies, gives a folk a higher ideal, if only in compensation for an external world that is unbearable. The very purity of

the Jewish home, the tradition and power of the synagogue, have been in part compensations, unconscious adjustments to persecution.

Oppression often compels adjustments which the minority might never choose if left to itself; even some which it may not need in the least. For we must remember that the Jew is subject, not only to all the currents of thought and events in the world as a whole, but to special influences of his own. These special conditions are partly due to his unusual history and tradition, but the most compelling ones, by far, are due directly or indirectly to anti-Semitism. The Jew must live in a world where he is not only a minority, but a hated and oppressed minority. His adaptation to that world has been a potent factor in every Jewish movement of modern and medieval times. The Creed of Maimonides, still a part of orthodox Jewish belief, was in part an answer to the missionary efforts of Christianity and Islam; while the writings of Mendelssohn were directly aimed at this problem of adjustment, answering the attacks from without and resolving doubts from within.

How can the Jew live in a world that hates him? Assimilation is not only impossible for large numbers; it is hateful to the great mass of Jews. Their very oppression has resulted in magnifying the importance of their identity in their own eyes. So they have worked out various types of adjustment, more or less successful. Reform Judaism is such an adjustment, a theory of progress applied to religion, a modernist movement within the synagogue to preserve its permanent values by bringing it into harmony with scientific and philosophic thought. Zionism is another such adjustment, to make the

Jews a nation with their own land like any other nation, to normalize their position in the world so far as possible. True, reform Jews in the inception of the movement were also striving to prove their claim to civil rights in Germany; while Zionists today disclaim the accusation that they are leaving the Jews outside of Palestine to a permanent position of subserviency. But both were movements of adaptation, one to the religious, the other to the national and economic movements of the nineteenth century.

Even modern orthodox Judaism shows similar traits. Its chief effort is to solidify the Jewish people about the traditional law as a center, rather than about a land or a religious philosophy. But it has accepted modern learning, which its predecessors of a century ago would have scorned as an intrusion of impiety. Most orthodox Jews have accepted Zionism, which they long regarded as an irreligious forcing of the hand of God, it being hitherto held that He in His own good time would restore the wanderers to their ancient homeland. The fact is that orthodoxy, whether in the medieval ghetto or the modern national state, is in a fighting mood for Jewish solidarity, just as much as are the defense battalions which young Jews have frequently organized to resist a pogrom.

Finally, anti-Semitism has undoubtedly aided the Jewish people, as Huntington points out, by a process of social selection. The weaker have fled and become assimilated; the more loyal and devout remain Jews and determine Judaism from one generation to another. Their children, reared by these very parents under the stimulus of further hatred and oppression, have largely carried on the same tradition of stubborn loyalty. Even the proselytes were automatically selected from

the same type of people, or they would never have risked comfort, position, sometimes even life itself to devote their futures to the Jewish cause.

Probably the disproportionately large number of eminent men among the Jews is the result of this sort of environmental stimulus, rather than of any "genius of the Jewish race." The Nobel prizes, the dictionaries of biography, the various sketches of world history, all indicate this disproportion of a people which is now less than one per cent of the world's population, and which never before possessed over one-fourth as many members as today. In Roman times the Jews were about 5 per cent of the population of the Empire; by 1700 there were probably about 1,500,000 Jews in the world, of whom about 1,300,000 lived in Europe. During all the Middle Ages the toll which wars and plagues took of the population in general was increased among the Jews by massacre and mass conversion. Even today, with 16,000,000 Jews in the world, this little people is less than 2 per cent of the population of Europe, and 3.6 per cent of that of the United States.

Yet among this tiny group the production of great men has been truly astounding. In ancient times they produced the heroes and saints of the Bible and Talmud, as well as their writers. In the Middle Ages they furnished, not only specialists in Jewish lore, but scientists, physicians, and philosophers of high rank. In modern times, from Spinoza to Einstein and Freud, the list is a striking one. In almost any field of endeavor there is a Disraeli, a Bergson, a Brandes, men of the very first rank. In science they have been most distinguished as mathematicians, physicists, chemists, and medical geniuses. In literature, art, and music the Jews have

ranked beyond their numbers, and sometimes sensationally so. This applies even if we are comparing them with the other 99 per cent of the human race; it is, of course, unnecessary to compare the Jews with any similar small population like the Poles or even a somewhat larger one, like that of Rumania or Spain. For this remarkable fact, an outstanding one in Jewish history, anti-Semitism is in part responsible. Of course, it takes something more than oppression to produce great men; else the Armenians and gypsies would have been as prolific of them as the Jews. It takes also a central position among nations, such as the Armenians lacked in their isolated part of Asia Minor, a participation in current movements of civilization, such as the gypsies could not enjoy.

But it seems definite that anti-Semitism has been one of the important factors making for Jewish solidarity and persistence, for the purity of the Jewish home, the devotion to the synagogue, for the stern loyalty of the Jewish people as a whole, and for their productivity of great men. In all these anti-Semitism worked with Jewish tradition to produce the valuable result, valuable for the Jews and for the world as well. For the Jews have been a useful force, a group splendid in originality, lending diversity and richness, and making for progress.

So we see that the effects of anti-Semitism have been double, both on the world and on the Jews. For the oppressing group, it united the nation at the expense of its own moral values, at infinite cost to truth, to humanity, to originality and progress. For the Jew, it frightened, drove away, and killed; it implanted a sense of inferiority, which impelled some Jews to over-aggressiveness, others to flight



from themselves and to assimilation in the majority. But it did all this to another end as well; it elevated the morale of the Jewish people as a whole, left it a smaller but stronger and more united group. Anti-Semitism robbed the Jew of numbers but it gave him unity; it deprived him of simplicity and poise, but in return gave him restlessness and an exhaustless energy.

## CHAPTER XVIII

### *Is There a Remedy?*

IF ANTI-SEMITISM rested on an inborn race-antipathy, the situation would be hopeless. We should simply have to resolve that tragedy is the lot of the Jew and in some degree of every minority. But there have been times and places where it was practically, if not altogether, absent. The early Roman Empire before the rise of Christianity, the Parthian rule in Babylonia before Islam, the sixteenth century in Holland, the fifteenth in Turkey, the post-Revolutionary period in the United States—these and other exceptions are so striking that we can no longer consider anti-Semitism the universal rule. The number of nations, both past and present, where race mixture is common and accepted by the standards of the group, from ancient Babylonia to modern Brazil, prove that there is no inborn disgust for other races, even very different ones. Whites, Negroes, American Indians, Chinese, Malays, all intermarry when they live together. The consciousness of kind operates only when considerable groups of one people, as a solid mass, touch equally solid groups of another race. Such a situation has developed the castes of India or the race problems of South Africa and the United States.

If race hatred is not natural and inborn where the greatest differences exist, it cannot be natural among the various

groups of the white race. It is the result of education in early childhood, of the sentiment of the people as a whole, which impresses itself deeply in the sensitive child mind. It depends on a host of factors, religious, economic, and social, which are the tradition of the whole people, and which are learned and believed by the young child simply because he is taught them, and because everybody around him believes them. It rises to a crisis when the people is deeply disturbed by war, revolution, depression, or some other vast excitement.

As the causes of anti-Semitism, and of all race hatred, lie in environment rather than in heredity, they can be cured. That is the great hope of the world today—that for all social evils there is somewhere a remedy. But the causes of anti-Semitism are deep-rooted in the social system. The remedy is not a ready or a quick one. It involves vast changes of opinion in many millions of people. It involves also changes in the economic and international situations which bring the climaxes of hatred and persecution. It must be a long-term program, for only that can ever touch the causes, can ever change the thinking of mobs, parties or nations, or can ever turn their members from mass thinking to individual thinking.

Obviously, anti-Semitism would have a ready remedy in the disappearance of the Jews. It would disappear with its object, just as smallpox would disappear with the destruction of the human race, or just as the destruction of chestnut trees means that the blight which has killed them must die out as well. Nobody today hates the Huns or Mongols, who were well enough hated in their day of triumph. Or if the name is revived as a wartime epithet, it does the Huns no harm since they are safely dead. So the philosophy of assimilation has

its reasons; it would cure the disease by killing the patient, when the disease germ will certainly also die. But the Jews do not want to die and their enemies will not let them disappear. The Jews, like any other historic people, have values which they themselves cherish: their religion, their history, their nationality, their language, their culture. Individuals may neglect these, may try to be absorbed in some other people, but the Jewish folk have always clung to them and do so still. They would rather suffer for their ideals than give them up for freedom and security. The Russian experiment of the present day will throw some light on this problem, though there the element of choice is lacking. Those people who desire to live and prosper in communist Russia must give up both Judaism and Zionism.

But even when a considerable number of Jews elect assimilation, they have never been gladly received or absorbed by the majority. We have seen how in Catholic Spain the thousands who were baptized became nominally identical with other Spaniards. But they were popularly known as New Christians; the mobs still found and attacked them; the Inquisition visited on them special suspicion and unusual severity; social discrimination never entirely disappeared. In Spain proper it took two hundred years to eliminate them as a separate group, while in the Balearic Islands and parts of rural Portugal they still exist, whether as New Christians or as Jews who have returned to their faith. This bitterness, which had no sanction from Church or State, but was simply the creation of prejudice, is duplicated with new reasons in modern Germany. There the race theory makes it possible to discriminate against the children or grandchildren of baptized and assimilated Jews; a century of ardent Germanism

and Christianity has gone for naught. Anti-Semitism would disappear with the Jew, but the Jew wants his Judaism, the non-Jew his anti-Semitism; so both continue to persist together.

The Jews cannot solve anti-Semitism because they cannot reach its causes. They can work out many palliatives against secondary causes; they can appeal to liberal individuals and groups in general society, who are not anti-Semites, and gain their sympathy and even support. These matters have definite importance and cannot possibly be neglected, though it is hopeless to look to them for final solutions.

If propaganda is such a tremendous influence in building up anti-Semitism, it is only reasonable to suppose that counter-propaganda will have comparable results. But not equal. It is far easier to arouse hate than friendship, emotion than thought. Any statement made by a Jew is discounted for that reason or may be thrown aside without a glance. The anti-Semites themselves may be even more biased; but they can preserve a better appearance of impartiality. Ordinarily, Jewish propaganda is designed to cure anti-Semitism after it has appeared, when it is already too late, rather than to prevent it by constant dissemination of factual material in advance of the damage done. Besides, factual material appeals to a very limited circle of people, who may or may not be the actual leaders of society; the mass of people, and often their leaders as well, have no taste for analyzing facts. They read or hear appeals to prejudice, vague and glittering promises for the future, and they respond in proportion to their desperation and to the flattery which has been offered them. Hitler's analysis of propaganda in his autobiography tells the story frankly enough; not facts,



but generalizations; not evidence, but constant reiteration, are the methods of successful propaganda, according to the man who has profited so highly by these methods. In the nature of the case, the Jewish cause can never enlist storm troops, massed banners, the appeal to hate, and all the paraphernalia of a fascist movement.

Counter-propaganda, however, is a necessary part of any Jewish program of self-defense. The Anti-Defamation League of the B'nai B'rith is doing a valuable work in stimulating literary defense, as well as counteracting definite anti-Jewish statements in press, stage, and screen. The chairman of the League, Mr. Sigmund Livingston, proposed an extensive program of education in 1935, embodying the following ten points:

"1. Every avenue of enlightenment must be utilized and no slander or libel must be permitted to remain unchallenged.

"2. Children's books must be revised to eliminate horrible portrayals of the Jew.

"3. School text books must be revised to eliminate unfair or prejudicial depictions of the Jew.

"4. The ignorance concerning the Jew on the part of the public must be dispelled with true information.

"5. Every popular fiction as to the Jew should be corrected by the truth.

"6. When malefactors are pointed to as Jews, produce the comparative record of the penal institutions of this country.

"7. Every accusation must be answered by facts and not merely by denials.

"8. A fair distribution of Jews in vocations and avocations must be endeavored.

"9. Every large city should have a local committee to deal

with unjust discrimination. The plan of operation should never be militant.

"10. Efforts for the prevention of defamation upon the stage, screen, radio and print must continue."

The American Jewish Committee, the oldest of these Jewish defense organizations, has developed an individual technique. While it concerns itself with the correction of abuses as they appear, its program is designed for the most part with the wider object of informing American public opinion on subjects concerning the Jews and of immunizing the American public mind against all forms of group hostility. In this program the organization makes use of a large variety of educational and publicistic methods. Its publications are particularly notable for their accurate, dispassionate contents; a booklet issued by The American Jewish Committee, entitled "The Jews in Nazi Germany," is widely regarded as a standard work on the subject.

A great deal of the work of The American Jewish Committee is carried on in cooperation with non-Jewish organizations similarly interested in promoting sympathetic group attitudes in this country.

The American Jewish Congress is still another agency which appeals to public opinion, though again with its own specialized approach. It appeals to the public, not only by literature, but also by great mass meetings and demonstrations. It supports the movement for a boycott of German-made goods. Dr. Stephen S. Wise, its president, is fostering the movement for a World Jewish Congress, hoping to make this appeal world-wide, both through the League of Nations and through the operations of world public opinion.

Legal defense of the Jews against slander is possible in

many countries, where the libel law includes such attacks on groups. In the United States, most states allow only individuals to sue, and then only when they can prove personal damage. A few states have enacted laws permitting a group to sue, but even this applies only to libels so inflammatory as to tend to a breach of the peace. Besides, the law responds frequently to public opinion. The Jews can defend their good name before courts in South Africa or Switzerland, not in Germany or Austria. Law is more often the product of public opinion than the creator of it.

A law passed in the province of Manitoba, Canada, in 1934, gives the power to a Jew or member of any other race or denomination to apply for an injunction against a libellous publication against his race or faith. Such action was taken against the "Canadian Nationalist," a French anti-Semitic paper which revived the blood accusation in February 1935; the action of the court in sustaining the case resulted in the suspension of the newspaper. Thus in many countries, where public opinion is liberal, a legal recourse is available. In the United States, however, the freedom of the press is so treasured, and the laws limit so closely the power to sue for libel, that this method is seldom possible. Even in the case of Henry Ford, the Jews were not able to sue, but Aaron Sapiro could because he could prove personal damage.

Some Jews have long felt that adjustment to the environment included recognition of special causes of prejudice and preventing their growth. This is certainly sound, with the reservation that any other secondary causes would serve as well. But in so far as these secondary causes are based on real weaknesses in the Jew himself, to eliminate them would mean to improve the Jew and sometimes also to improve his rela-

tions with the non-Jew. Jewish manners have been criticized; they can be improved by training, to the advantage of the Jews themselves. Jews are accused of not becoming American citizens; they can be and are being trained in citizenship and helped to take out their papers. Any other possible improvement in the character or personality of the Jews will be of the greatest benefit to them, whether or not the previous accusation is true, and irrespective of the effect on the non-Jews.

The same applies to the readjustment of Jews in occupations and professions. If there are too many Jewish lawyers and physicians for their own good, or too few Jews in the basic industries and farming, then adjustments are desirable. Vocational education and guidance, so badly needed in the population as a whole, may be even more necessary for the Jews in view of their disabilities. Driven out of one occupation, the young Jew may find some other work equally desirable and equally useful. The weakening of the middle-class and of white-collar occupations means that many Jews should find their life work in other fields. There are still opportunities for trained workers in such fields as agriculture, engineering, the arts and literature. In this way many Jews will become happier and more useful members of society.

But the advance in Jewish manners, citizenship or occupations—and this applies to dozens of other matters as well—removes only secondary causes for Jew-hatred. The fundamental causes are untouched, and new reasons can easily be tied up with them, even such a fundamental fallacy as the race theory, which makes no other reasons necessary. Or the accusation of a world-Jewish conspiracy, if believed at all,

can be believed as easily of well-mannered Jewish college professors or farmers as of foreign-looking Jewish peddlers or their lawyer sons. Minor causes can be prevented; some results of anti-Semitism can be cured. The real causes are beyond the reach of the Jews themselves.

Various movements within Jewry itself have been regarded as antidotes to anti-Semitism. From this point of view, they certainly fall far short of that, but they prove valuable and even necessary adjustments to the kind of a world in which anti-Semitism exists. The first of these is the development of a more inclusive and more effective system of Jewish education. Every Jewish child should have the same educational preparation for living as a Jew which he is given in the public schools for living as a citizen of his nation. The study of language, history, customs will give him a background, relatively independent of anti-Semitism, which will at least prevent such a pathological feeling of inferiority as that of a Weininger. If anti-Semitism really strengthens the Jew, that strength must be developed in definite institutions. The synagogue, Jewish philanthropies, such self-defense organizations as the American Jewish Committee and American Jewish Congress, all these give the Jews a sense of pride, a real unity, by which they can survive any attacks except the most deadly and can prevent the worst excesses of treachery and desertion from within. While they will not overcome anti-Semitism, they may prove the method for resisting it.

The only real approach to the causes of anti-Semitism is the Zionist movement, and that not for the majority of Jews. Those Jews, a minority of the entire people, who will eventually be able to go to Palestine, will find for themselves a normal adjustment there. They will no longer be parts of



an oppressed minority but members of the Jewish National Home. In that capacity, they will find or create the institutions they need as other peoples have done. Their language, religion, educational system, the social experiment of their many farm colonies—all these will be their own self-expression. But this will not normalize the life of the Jews in other lands, who will continue to live as minorities, oppressed or tolerated as the case may be. The most that Zionism can give them is what the other Jewish institutions also try to give, pride to resist their enemies, knowledge and loyalty to substitute courage for inferiority in their own minds. Jewish movements will strengthen Jews, will influence non-Jewish friends of the Jew, but will by no means touch the anti-Semites.

If this is true of Jewish efforts, what of non-Jewish movements toward good will, mutual understanding, and the like? These also are valuable and work in the right direction, but suffer from the same weakness that most of them appeal only to the liberals, the friends of oppressed minorities, from the outset. There have been throughout history a few philo-Jews in almost every period, whose friendship and assistance has encouraged the beleaguered sons of Israel. A Reuchlin, a Macaulay, a Jefferson—such men as these were not only liberals, but definitely defenders of the generally despised Jew. Our age has many such. I have before me seven books by American non-Jews on Jewish or minority problems, written within the past five years. Their titles express their point of view: "Christians Only," by Heywood Broun and George Britt; "The Jew and His Neighbor," by James W. Parkes; "The Christian-Jewish Tragedy," by Conrad H. Moehlman; "All in the Name of God," by Everett R. Clinchy; "Intoler-

ance," by Winfred E. Garrison; "Catholics, Jews and Protestants," by Claris E. Silcox and Galen M. Fisher; and "The Jew and the World Ferment," by Basil Mathews.

The Young Men's Christian Association has published an excellent pamphlet by Mrs. Abel J. Gregg, entitled "New Relationships with Jews and Catholics," as a basis for discussion groups in Protestant churches and associations. Thomas Nelson and Sons are publishing a series of books on the participation of various groups in American life, including one on the Jews by Rachel Davis-DuBois and Emma Schweppe. Such studies as these are infinitely more valuable than similar works by Jews, as they express the ideas of members of the majority and reach readers who are not accessible to direct propaganda from Jewish sources. The volume mentioned above, "The Jew and the World Ferment," is especially interesting as it is the work a Christian missionary, who shows the fallacy of anti-Semitism and exhibits a kindly attitude toward the Jews, a far cry from the official attitude of Christian missionaries for many generations. One of the finest studies of the Jew and of anti-Semitism ever made, which must at least be mentioned here, is "Israel Among the Nations," by a French-Catholic economist, Anatole Leroy-Beaulieu. Such students, like the Jews themselves, strike mainly at the secondary causes or the manifestations of anti-Semitism, but they can penetrate a little deeper into the mind of the group than can the Jewish writers.

Among many notable statements of non-Jews in defense of the Jews against slander, two American documents deserve special mention. One was a protest against anti-Semitism, sponsored by John Spargo in 1921, which was signed by 119 prominent persons, including President Wood-

row Wilson, ex-President William Howard Taft, and William Cardinal O'Connell. This statement included the following sentences: "The loyalty and patriotism of our fellow citizens of the Jewish faith is equal to that of any part of our people, and requires no defense at our hands. . . . Anti-Semitism is almost invariably associated with lawlessness and with brutality and injustice. It is also invariably found closely intertwined with other sinister forces, particularly those which are corrupt, reactionary, and oppressive. We believe that it should not be left to men and women of Jewish faith to fight this evil, but that it is in a very special sense the duty of citizens who are not Jews by ancestry or faith." About the same time the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America passed a resolution in its national convention in Boston, in these words: "WHEREAS, For some time past there have been in circulation in this country publications tending to create race prejudice and arouse animosity against our Jewish fellow citizens and containing charges so preposterous as to be unworthy of credence, be it *Resolved*, That the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America, impressed by the need at this period of our national existence for unity and brotherhood, deplors all such cruel and unwarranted attacks upon our Jewish brethren and in a spirit of good will extends to them an expression of confidence in their patriotism and their good citizenship, and earnestly admonishes our people to express disapproval of all actions which are conducive to intolerance or tend to the destruction of our national unity through arousing racial division in our body politic."

Such a defense, whether scholarly or in the world of practice, may prove as helpful to the Jews as did Reuchlin's de-

fense of the Talmud or the haven of refuge provided by Holland in the seventeenth century for the Marranos. As Turkey provided a refuge in the fifteenth century, Holland in the sixteenth, America in the nineteenth, so Palestine under the British mandatory should prove a safe abiding place for refugees from persecution in the twentieth. As friends of liberty or of the Jews aided them in other centuries, so their defenders and the liberals of many shades are striving to protect them in the present crisis.

The unfortunate fact is that most of these efforts are, of necessity, superficial; they do not penetrate deeply into the mind of the mass, but reach only those isolated individuals who are already thinking in individual, not mass terms. They attempt to reach the fundamental cause of anti-Semitism, for they are educational in nature. But their appeal is to the already educated, the adults. Hence those persons who have become prejudiced through early training are usually impervious to their efforts. They are trying indeed to reach the children through the churches and the church periodicals for young people. If Professor Moehlman's ideas, for example, ever become widely spread among Christian ministers and educators, the crucifixion story would be told far differently in Christian church schools, and the predispositions of millions of people toward the Jews would become radically different.

There have been a number of such well-intended organizations in different countries. There was founded in Germany in 1890 a Society for Combating Anti-Semitism, organized by a group of eminent gentiles. For forty-three years this society taught through its "Journal of Defense" and its pamphlets that race hatred is unworthy of a true Christian

and a genuine German. It certainly must have had a wide appeal to educated Germans; but it finally had to break up in 1933 with the advent of the National Socialists to power. In the United States the National Conference of Jews and Christians is conducting seminars, publishing literature, working through churches, synagogues, and civic groups, in the effort to induce people to think clearly and fairly on problems of the relationship of Jews, Catholics, and Protestants. This conference is following largely the religious line of attack, and is devoting less attention to the economic and racial aspects of the problem. But it is undoubtedly doing effective work within the limited group who are interested to listen to this kind of instruction.

There is even an International League to Combat Anti-Semitism, which held its first congress on September 22, 1934, in Paris. It consisted of twenty delegates from five countries: Great Britain, France, Switzerland, Belgium, and Egypt. It seems to be distinctly a non-Jewish organization and to have plans for a world-wide movement with branches in many countries.

In contrast to this type of effort, the anti-Semites themselves offer little more than the Russian Orthodox Church hoped for the Jews—that one-third should be converted, one-third killed, and one-third migrate, thus solving the Jewish problem in Holy Russia. The present wave of anti-Semitism offers extermination and colonization as the only alternatives. It rejects the older possibility of assimilation, whether in terms of religion or of national culture.

An anti-Semitic congress with representatives of twenty-seven peoples was held secretly in Switzerland—one account says in Berlin—in October 1934, to solve "the burning



Jewish problem of freeing the nations from the Jewish parasites." Its central bureau will include representatives from the anti-Semitic parties in England, France, Holland, Germany, Turkey, and Poland. Its plan seems to be, according to a press notice, to settle all the Jews of the world in some territory far away from the various national homes of these anti-Semites themselves. Perhaps Madagascar, previously assigned for this purpose by people who do not own it, is the place in view.

Such a plan was recently proposed in the United States by Ingram Hughes in his "Anti-Semitism: a World Survey," published by the American Nationalist Publications in Los Angeles. The whole book reads like a translation from the German both in its material and style. The most interesting bit, however, appears on the last page. "It is suggested here that the opportunity offered through Zionism be definitely supervised, limited and apportioned among the nations on a basis of the percentage of Jews in each country; and that it be available and compulsory only to those young married Jews, thirty years of age and under, and their dependents of whatever age. Thus, in twenty years all possibility of a further natural increase of Jews in foreign lands would be brought to an end, and in that time and in that way the 'Jewish problem' would be solved without hardship to anyone." The financing of such an undertaking is very simple to Mr. Hughes, for the Jews have too much money, anyway. The parts to be played by Jew, Arab, and the British Empire in his scheme do not even concern him, for all he wants to do is to eliminate the Jewish problem from America by eliminating the Jew.

It is hard to imagine what the anti-Semitic parties of the

various countries would do if the Jews were actually removed and they had no longer a minority to serve in the various capacities of foe and of scapegoat for the sins of the peoples. Such an attempt was actually described in 1925 by an Austrian journalist (a non-Jew) named Hugo Bettauer in a novel, "The City Without Jews." This is an interesting fantasy, concerning the expulsion of Jews from Vienna and the speedy ruin of the city's industries and arts until, by a general revulsion of feeling, the Jews are invited to return. But the surprising fact about this original but rather trivial book was its reception. About three hundred thousand copies were sold in various languages. An anti-Semite murdered Mr. Bettauer and in court defended his crime by an attack on this work of fiction.

Yet fantastic and impractical as mass expulsions sound as a solution for our problem, it is interesting to speculate on the picture of any modern civilized country suddenly swept clean of its Jewish population. Who would take the place of the Jew as a long-established figure in the social scheme? Or as an object of popular distrust and hatred? Perhaps the nationalists would be driven into wars in order artificially to unify their peoples; perhaps they might even turn to remedy the actual evils of their respective societies.

It is manifestly impossible to isolate a scattered people like the Jews from contact with other nations, or even from living among other peoples. The Jew cannot be saved from the world; he must be saved with the world. The Jew is a part of European civilization and is subject to all currents of that civilization, plus a few special ones, due to his own tradition and his minority status. As the worst outbreaks of anti-Semitism and of race hatred in general occur during times of

turmoil, misery, and excitement, the first great step in preventing these evils of society is to avoid the other and even greater evils which bring them on. The prevention of wars and depressions is a necessary step in the elimination of race hatred and the proper subordination of minority problems the world over.

The Marxians are right in this, for they conceive that proper economic conditions, proper standards of living for Jews and non-Jews alike, will eliminate the economic causes of anti-Semitism. The place where, to the present author, they seem to have gone astray is in reducing all human nature to a series of economic motives, and thus thinking that anti-Semitism itself would wither away if this one root were destroyed. Though more realistic, this view is no more complete than that of the preacher who complains that the "brotherhood of man" is a neglected ideal, and dreams that a realization of this religious purpose would destroy, not anti-Semitism only, but wars and misery as well.

These great projects for social betterment, the prevention of wars and depressions, are beyond the power of a handful of scattered and frightened people like the Jews. They must engage the best minds of the human race for generations, perhaps for centuries. But if they are ever accomplished, then the outbreaks of anti-Semitism and all varieties of race hatred will decrease, perhaps disappear altogether. The most that the Jews can do toward this end is to be good citizens, to join with those liberal parties which include in their programs a tolerant attitude toward minorities, to labor with far-sighted and progressive non-Jews toward a better world in which Jew and non-Jew can live together.

As Dr. Alfons Goldschmidt, a German refugee and a pro-

fessor in the University in Exile, writes in his pamphlet, "Whither Israel?": "Whither, Israel? Are you not turning away from your true friends, from all those who are opposing the growth of reaction throughout the world? . . . You have not succeeded in establishing an effective Jewish solidarity against your enemies. The enemies that you have had for thousands of years and who grow ever more numerous will not abandon their enmity no matter how loudly you may cry. . . . For the economic crisis, the major factor in anti-Jewish agitation, will grow in intensity, and since the vested interests have no desire to relinquish their interests, nor the ability to eliminate the general distress, you will be hunted as long as there is distress in the world.

"Be careful not to lose your friends. Millions upon millions are fighting like you, against the race craze, because they realize or feel that this madness is one type and one part of the barbaric fight against them. Give of your resources to them, the persecuted non-Jews, the exiled, those cast out into misery, those fighting at the risk of their lives for the right to live, thus aiding their struggle, by demonstrating that you want not merely your own civil equality, but the human well-being of all."

If carried out, this means that Jews who desire their own rights must fight along with the oppressed everywhere. They must be among the friends of the Negro race, the oppressed minority in America, because intolerance is the same danger to human rights and freedom, however applied and under all different circumstances. They find their defenders not among the reactionaries, who benefit by the abuses of the present system, but among the liberals, whose policy of reform must include the protection of racial and religious

minorities along with the weaker economic classes. That such a policy is in accord with Jewish religious practice is an acknowledged fact of history. The forces of society have placed the Jew among the victims in every society where such victims exist. Only by a more and more general sharing of prosperity and happiness can the Jew enter into the heritage of humanity. Where there is injustice, the Jew is the first and usually the greatest victim. The struggle of the Jew for emancipation must be first of all a struggle in which he is aligned with all victims of injustice in the search for a better world order, for the prevention of war and economic oppression, for the reform or reconstruction of society.

But such a procedure will eliminate only occasions of outbreak and certain secondary causes of anti-Semitism. The final program is nothing less than a reëducation of the human race, to train men and women for living together in amity and understanding rather than in oppression and resentment. Such a program alone will ever remove the fundamental cause of group hatred and prejudices from the world. It is, on the face of it, not a Jewish program, but a national and international project, in which the Jew is simply one of the many peoples to be taught, and one of the groups which are the topic of study.

Such a reëducation of the human race is not so visionary as the words appear at first reading. Every program of education has its social background and social purpose. Ordinarily the schools of a country, from kindergarten through university, are designed for the understanding and support of the established order. They teach patriotism, individualism, collectivism—whatever the national leaders feel is the proper policy. Even the training of primitive peoples, in



preparation for their initiation into manhood, is a teaching of the principles of loyalty, religion, culture, as their group conceives it. We see today how certain nations, in the process of reconstructing the established order, are at once using the educational system to teach the children the new principles. In Turkey the new system of schools teaches secular patriotism, minimizing the old religious instruction of Islam; in Russia it is an instrument of propaganda for communist ideals against religion and capitalism. In Italy and Germany the schools teach fascism, and in the latter "racial science" as well. One weakness of the revolutionary governments in such countries as Mexico and Spain is that they have not built up systems of revolutionary schools to a high enough point, though they are speedily engaged in doing so.

The established order rests on the minds of the people who accept it. Any new order, any new way of thinking or of living, will in turn depend on the preparation of the minds of the people. Any new system, under modern conditions, cannot become stable until some fifteen or twenty years have elapsed, and a generation of children are graduating from the new schools and arising to defend the new order. While the schools are the center of the new movement, they are not its only organ. Both children and adults respond to what they hear or see in the newspapers, the radio, the motion picture—all the agencies of education and propaganda. Hence each revolutionary or fascist government of the present day is striving desperately to dominate all these means of public information and indoctrination, in order to prevent adverse ideas from spreading and to solidify its own following. Only in democratic countries, resting on freedom of thought and

speech, does discussion still go on from many points of view, though even in the United States the trend is present to limit the presentation of certain extremes of doctrine. A general system of reëducation, then, would begin with the schools and would influence all the organs of education and propaganda.

What should such a new ideal include? Not merely the study of anti-Semitism—that would again result in an over-emphasis and a new type of false attitude. It should be a study of human nature, as the best schools of social science and of psychology are developing it. Against the “race science,” it should be a study of the actual nature and workings of groups of human beings. No one point of view is necessary or desirable, either that of the present author or of communism or any other group, in order to base such a study securely. But such a study should include the essential oneness of the human race; the nature of human groups, as simply groups of human beings, with their own customs and ideas; and the origin of hatred and prejudices, with their analysis and, automatically, their disproof. If “race science,” the science of hatred, can be taught in the elementary schools of Germany, this type of social science can be taught at least as easily and at least as effectively.

Most educated people have paid little attention to this essential subject. The universities of Poland and Rumania are the hot-bed of anti-Semitism in those lands, not merely because of economic and professional competition with Jews. The students and graduates of those universities—and of American institutions as well—have studied various techniques, not the bases of human nature. They may become

well-trained physicians, lawyers, engineers, and know practically nothing of what is, after all, a special topic of study, even though it be of universal application and need.

The gravest problem remains unsolved; how to induce the leaders of world thought, who control the systems of education and information, to sponsor such a radical program. Revolutionary and fascist governments control their schools in the interests of their own systems, which they are trying to stabilize. Established national systems, like France or Great Britain, merely try to uphold the order which rests on tradition as well as law. Who will want to teach the principles of universal human nature, the character of opposing and minority groups, the fallacies of prejudice? What authority will now or in the future embody these principles in the curriculum? We must grow to think, not of Germany or France, not of The Negro or The Jew, but of human beings with different backgrounds and different modes of group existence. That means, primarily, that all are alike human beings, with essential oneness beneath their diversity.

Such must be the program for preventing anti-Semitism, the oldest, deepest, and most widespread example of race hatred in the world today. It must be a program of supplanting group thinking with individual thinking, of substituting for prepared reactions of large masses of people direct analysis by each person of the facts which confront him. It will not and cannot aim at preventing all personal judgments, for those are proper and necessary. It cannot even hope to prevent all personal prejudices, whether against foods, art forms, or people. But it can minimize and even prevent the formation of those group judgments which condemn, for purely emotional satisfactions, groups of people

because in some more or less important respect they differ from the prevailing standard. Whether the difference is one of race, religion, nationality or culture, the problem remains the same. Group thinking about other groups is our menace which only a reëducation of the human race can completely eradicate.

In the end product of such a new way of thinking, the various minority groups will be valued for the very thing which now condemns them—their differing contributions to the life of the world. Minorities are essential to diversity, to progress, to originality. Many, perhaps all minorities, like the Jews, have made and are making valuable contributions in the form of their own tradition, religious, ethical, and cultural, as well as in the form of men of talent and genius in various branches of world culture. This is a field which is barely mentioned in the present book, but which has had considerable study and which should be widely known among both Jews (for pride) and non-Jews (for fairness). But the contributions of other minority groups deserve study and interest in the same way. Anti-Semitism is a part of the present organization of the world of thought; its elimination can come only by radical alterations in that system and point of view. Anti-Semitism will go only if and when every type of race hatred and group prejudice disappears.

Fortunately, there is a contagion in human thought. Hatred spreads like wildfire. Knowledge, understanding, justice also spread, though less rapidly and with far more opposition. The innovations of thought and practice in Soviet Russia seem to be well established in the minds of the people after sixteen years. Alliances made through military policy are cemented by propaganda and become part of the thought

of peoples. Economic systems change, and the new system acquires all the sanctity, the power, the stability of the old. Scientific ideas, so far removed from ordinary life affairs, become by slower processes of percolation a part of the mental furniture of every man. Religious enthusiasms spread with great rapidity and soon become stable and permanent. In the same way, new ethical and social doctrines may become embodied in the thought, first of the leaders, then of the race as a whole. The need is pressing; the possibility is ahead.

The ultimate dream of the present author is that of the prophets of Israel, a world united in justice and in peace. This implies a vast integration of groups and sub-groups, from the city, the church, the factory, the social set of friends, up to the nation, and then of the nations themselves, with their crisscrossing interests and universalizing trends, to an organization or at least a sentiment of sympathy which includes the entire human race. In such a picture the Jew would have his place, as would every other group, majority or minority, as one of the natural and traditional bodies into which people have been born, or in which they have grouped together. A language group is decided by birth, a scientific or artistic school by personal choice; yet both are parts of the groupings and regroupings which constitute our common humanity.

Every group has its quota to contribute to the life of the world, whether in thought or in expression, in labor or merely in its distinctive mode of life. The ultimate world organization will be one in which, not merely anti-Semitism and every type of group prejudice will be impossible, but the interest in the many types of people in the world will be



directed toward their contributions to the common welfare. The external foe which may then unite them will be none other than the conquest of the forces of nature; the inner unity will be a vast ethical and religious agreement that all men are in a literal sense brothers.



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